THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

November 1, 1947

ONE MORE STEP

AN EDITORIAL

Tractors For Communist Areas

William Hinton

Doctor's Appeal

Amos Wong

A Visit To Jogjakarta

Walter Briggs

WHO'S DISLOYAL?

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 107 CNC$10,000 NUMBER 9

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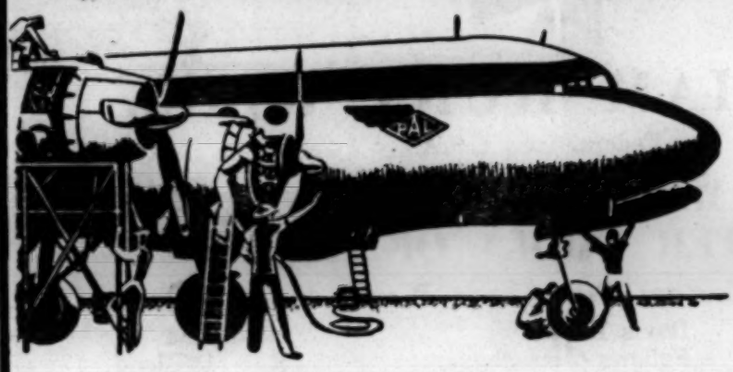

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Food For Thought

To The Editor:

The three enlightening editorials in the October 4 issue of the *Review*, one on world affairs and the other two concerning the two most enduring and suffering circles, the workers and students of China, have given us some spiritual food for thought. We were deeply impressed by what had happened to Mr. Shen, who was arrested by the secret police; meantime we could not help laughing at the fortune of the two checks. It revealed the greedy and funny face under the dirty and ugly cover. Although you have raised more than four questions in your sympathetic editorials, I doubt if you can get answers in return, facing such an unreasonable Chinese government. The power of the present KMT government is founded on the secret police system, the Blueshirts, which is its last and most reliable resort to deal with the people and its weapon to slaughter its opponents. Can you hope that the secret police would be so brave as to show their Siegfried fortifiatcions?

It may interest you and the readers of the *Review* to know that the Siegfried fortress imprisons not only the students in Shanghai but also those very active in the schools everywhere in this country. In Hangchow, it is camouflaged as the Chief of Discipline in the day, but becomes a Browning pistol at night to threaten the students. The latest example is the Chief of Discipline, Mr. Lai Lai, of the Provincial Senior middle school in Hangchow, who carried a weapon at midnight to check the students coming back to school. But he was recognized by the students after his real identity under the mask was discovered by them on September 19—ironically, just two days after the case of the vice-minister of Education slapping the editor of the National Central Library — and could do nothing but offer his resignation.

We are very angry that the present government should make the students its permanent enemies. Do the KMT leaders really think that the Chinese people, especially the young generation, will bow under the noiseless pistol and outrageous massacre? The grass can't be all burned out by the wild fire; a little spring breeze will revive and enliven it again. Chin Shih Huang Ti, the most tyrannic and cruel emperor in Chinese history, was finally overthrown by the force of the oppressed people. The KMT is also doomed to failure, if it tries to keep its position and power by force instead of peaceful and progressive exertions to compete with the opposing party and to win the support of the people.

Today is Double Tenth, the national holiday of China. Looking back over the past 36 years, we find that only once has this holiday, in the VJ year, given the Chinese people some real reason to rejoice. But after that the Chinese people fell again into disappointment and disillusionment. The present situation is even worse than the old days.

But China must be saved. It must progress and improve. To achieve the final goal of our Father's indications is everybody's responsibility. In such distressed times and on such a holiday, we should acquire more courage for our

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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fighting will; but such a call may be estimated as idealism. Thereupon our actions should be scrupulous but not timid, should be useful and forcible but not rude. If every one knows the real sense of this day and understands his share and responsibility to our country, the despotic regime, and all its corrupt officials and reactionary elements will disappear as the smoke scatters before the wind and the fog under the shining sun. But of course, it is a long way to go and it is fraught with suffering.

EVER HIGH YANG.

Hangchow,
October 10, 1947.

Last Straw, Quicksand

To The Editor:

It appears that the United States is bound to give the Kuomintang her best possible aid, both military and financial, because she seems so friendly and good willed as to wish to "prevent the Soviet Union from robbing China." Aid from the "Gold Dollar Empire," no matter how Christian or Shylock-like it may be, will prove to be the only last straw that the drowning Kuomintang is glad to snatch at. But what is regrettable is that the wind and waves preceding the storm have been raging too violently for the desperate soul to catch the straw or to keep his head above water. Nor has he enough energy to swim for his life as he has already exhausted it during his long practice of corruption and 20 years of despotism.

Touching on the retraining and re-equipment and, most of all, the proposed sharp reduction of the Chinese army, I wish to tell China policy makers of the United States that the Chinese soldiers are nothing but poor, hungry, and ignorant peasants driven out of their farms to take up the trade of killing in order to preserve their own lives. They look at soldiering as a mere profession. They don't seem to understand what their generals are thinking about or driving at. They have never known what principle or policy means. What they do care for is to keep themselves from starving. Receiving a sum of less than CNC$50,000 a month, they will never be expected to do what is required of them. All the allotments of rations and riches and goods have gone into their generals' pockets. They are fighting for warlords even less sensible and considerate than the ancient feudal lords. No wonder it has been a common notion among the soldiers, especially those at the front, that the government army is no place for them, and if they are prohibited from stealing, robbing or raping, they might just as well join the Communists, so long as the latter is willing to fill their stomach. Now the whole nation is suffering from extreme poverty, ever-worsening inflation and most incompetent administration, what can we do in coping with the serious unemployment after the reduction of the government forces to one-fourth of its present size? The only thing left for the disbanded soldiers will be either beggary or banditry or going over to the side of the Communists. Nothing will seem amiss to a hungry man, the struggle between life and death justifies his motives. What is more, in a country as vast as China, how can a few handfuls of crack units keep their own ground when there are the Communists "bandits" on one side and the exploited and angered little people on the other? What will the thousands of intelligent and tactful American military advisers do to help the Kuomintang dictatorship from falling between Scylla and Charybdis, may one ask?

In a word, it is only a matter of time when the Kuomintang will meet its fateful breakdown and ruin. Nothing can be done for it. The American taxpayers

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might well keep a little money for themselves against the menacing rainy day at home, and the United States Government might save itself the trouble of building an anti-communisst basse here upon quicksand.

LONG BOW.

Shanghai,
October 21, 1947.

English Magazines

To The Editor:

We are very glad to know that the British United Aid to China will present some magazines to 127 Christian and private schools. But we wonder if our school is on the list.

Mr. Dennis Frone, secretary of B.U.A.C., wants your readers to give him some suggestions with referense to the program of sending literature to Chinese schools. We, teachers of a middle school, would like to say some words to B.U.A.C.

We, teachers like to read magazines on educational issues, English digests and newspapers, while the students of middle schools are much interested in short stories, children's newspapers and Picture Post, etc.

It is said that the Christian and private middle schools in China are better than the public schools (of course, there are some exceptions), therefore, the standard of English of the students in the former is higher than in the latter. But which schools among these Christian and private schools are qualified to have free magazines? In our opinion, they must appeal to the interest of the teachers as well as the students. We suggest whichever school wants English magazines should apply to B.U.A.C. for free literature.

As to circulating the magazines, we would like to say if the grant of £600 is not enough to serve the purpose, a way of circulating magazines one by one may be used. Though it is complicated, it is a good way out under the present situation of the Chinese schools. Dear Editor! Would you kindly send this letter to Mr. Frone?

TING FENG WANG.
Shek Kwang Middle School.

Tsinkiang, Fukien,
October 16, 1947.

Correction

To The Editor:

I have found a few errors in my article entitled "Shantung Suffers from War; Reforms Needed" appearing in the Oct. 11 issue of the *Review*. I hope you will be kind enough to find space for these corrections.

In the bottom table of p. 189, the number of the refugees aided by the four free soup kitchens should be 15,432, and the nourishment stations should 2,000 daily. On p. 188, column two, "*The China Weekly Review*" should be *The Chinese Weekly Review* or *Ping Lun Pao*. In the second column of p. 190, the second paragraph should read. "in addition, in almost every school, there are incompetent teachers, many of them are...."

JOSEPH I. C. LUAN.

Tsinan, Shantung,
October 18, 1947.

Vanished Face

To The Editor:

It is reported that Mr. Chang Chia Pao, a senior assistant in the Shanghai Customs, disappeared three weeks ago for being guilty of irregularities in seized goods by auction, amounting to several billions.

So far this case has not been disclosed in order to save the well established face of the Customs, which, for inadequate pay, maladministration and corruption, has already vanished.

Y. H. W.

Shanghai,
October 25, 1947.

Plea For Collaborators

To The Editor:

The publication of Mr. S. L. Loo's article: "A Plea for Chinese Collaborators" in the August 16th issue of your esteemed paper has gone a long way toward a just and impartial consideration of the question. Ex-Premier Gen. Chin Yun P'eng as well as several well known scholars, artists and leading personalities in Peiping and Tientsin have recently addressed a petition to Generalissimo Chiang and other high officials of the government. I am herewith sending you the Chinese text of this petition together with my English translation, publication of which in the *Review* would be appreciated.

P. M.

Nanking,
October 20, 1947.

To the President of the National Government, the Presidents of the Legislative, Executive, Judicial, Control Yuans and the Minister of Justice:

Last month, on the recommendation of Gen. Hsiung Shih-hui, Ma Chan-shan and others, and in pursuance of its judicial

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policy, the Government released the collaborators of the Northeastern Provinces who had been arrested for their collaboration with the enemy, and exempted those who are at large from prosecution. The good effect produced by this magnanimous act on the part of the Government has spread into every corner of the country and given hope to every heart.

Now the Government has been reorganized, we would like to submit one word. The main reason for the lenient treatment accorded collaborators in the Northeast is that these regions, having been unfortunately occupied by the enemy, the people were forced to collaborate with them against their own will. As North China fell into the enemy's hands the same circumstances, the same treatment should be extended to the latter.

The Marco Polo Bridge Incident was followed by eight years of hardship and all those who took part in the puppet organization aimed, despite strong pressure, at preserving national unity, mitigating the sufferings of the people, maintaining racial existence and the prevention of banditry. A considerable number of those whose loyal actions and patriotic feelings displeased the enemy, were put to death.

Among North China collaborators there may have been a few opportunists, but on the whole no one rebelled. In the beginning they helped the withdrawal of the military and civil officers of the government wherever necessary; they saved various localities from ruin; they protected the government's underground workers and people's lives and properties. When the Japs were defeated, they kept their posts, maintained their important key places and handed over tc the government all the material, equipment and properties intact. All these helpful deeds were favorably recognized in the radio instructions from the President.

Their unselfish achievements, their extremely difficult tasks and delicate positions exceeded those of the collaborators in the Northeast. But the latter received the benefits of leniency from the government, while the former are still confined under the rigor of the law. This is unjust both in principle and in fact.

The general trend in the treatment of collaborators in other countries is toward leniency which is most likely prompted by a desire to preserve capable men for the nation—not a handing out of petty favors but a far reaching plan. Such instances can be used for reference.

It is like a house burgled; the parents fled leaving their children behind. After the burglars leave and the parents return, it is natural for the parents to put the blame on the burglars, not on their children. If all things are done objectively, truth will be discerned.

The undersigned entertain no personal partiality in favor of the North China collaborators; being in a humble position, we know more intimately and accurately about them and feel sure that they deserve kindly treatment.

We should not have ventured to make such a suggestion had not an excellent precedent been established for the Northeast collaborators which shows the benevolent intentions of the Government.

We therefore submit this petition to you for the extensions to the North China collaborators of the same kindness that has been shown to the Northeastern collaborators, i.e. giving them complete freedom.

Two years have elapsed since V-J Day, but the Chinese people are still in dire misery. A kindly and generous act will win favorable public opinion and would be of advantage to the future of our country.

We earnestly hope that this petition will meet with your approval and our suggestion will be put into execution.

SHANG PIN HO
CHIN YUN PENG
YUAN NAI KUAN
PAN LING KAO
LI YI JU
CHEN YUN KAO
TSI HUANG
CHEN NIEN
YUEH YUEN KO
HSU SHIH CHANG
YAO HSIAO SUNG
YUNG TAO

Composition

To The Editor:

Since I adopted the *Review* as my students' supplementary reading, their English has greatly improved. In the past I always had a headache when I was correcting their English exercises. Mistakes both in grammar and in rhetoric were too numerous to be revised. Sentences in Chinese style were their common faults. If you asked them to write a paragraph on some of the current topics, they would feel greatly puzzled, for they had nothing to say, nor could they express what they wanted to express.

Last Saturday in my English class, I ventured to give them a subject on "War" to write about, testing whether they found it difficult or not. To my great satisfaction, they did much better than ever before. Such a result, doubtless to say, is due to the help of their supplementary reading, the *Review*. To express my heartfelt thanks as well as my students,' I write you this letter and send you two of my students' compositions to show the improvement they have made.

Via CGRA

When we build, let us think that we build forever. Let it not be for present delight, nor for present use alone; let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for, and let us think, as we lay stone on stone, that a time is to come when those stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them, and that men will say as they look upon the labor and wrought substance of them, "See! this our fathers did for us."

—JOHN RUSKIN.

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Via GLOBE

I. by Shao Yu

Everybody knows that war is the most cruel of all things. Its devastations are numerous, such as cultivated lands devastated, buildings destroyed, education interrupted and starvation prevailing throughout the country. See! How many combatants and non-combatants have been sacrificed and killed in the war!

One day I read in the newspaper a topic about the moon which as the writer said was destroyed by the Atomic Bomb War thousands of years ago. Scientifically speaking, this is rather absurd. But the meaning of the writer is worthy to be observed. The earth would become a dead earth just like the moon on which living creatures could no longer be found after the outbreak of that Atomic Bomb War.

The world of today is in great confusion. The prospect is not bright and optimistic. The Atomic Bombs could be used, were they beneficial to the peace of the whole world. But such a war is not desirable. I hope all the people of the world should have the idea of mutual understanding and work for the common good as early as possible. Thus, real peace may be secured forever.

II. by Wei Chih Kong

It goes without saying that war it terrible and dangerous. China has no desire for war; America has no desire for war; and no country has desire for it. But why does it often break out? The fundamental cause is due to the misunderstanding between the fighting nations, and at the same time their conflict cannot be satisfactorily settled.

Usually, when a war breaks out between two parties or two countries, the calamities on both sides must be great. Villages are devastated, and buildings destroyed. Industry and commerce come to a standstill. Peasants, being forced to contribute all their crops, become awfully poor. Their life is no better than death. This is why every one of us hates fighting.

Since war is so cruel and terrible, why do we not try our best to stop our Civil War? It has thrown China into a wretched state. A great majority of her people can hardly maintain their living, crying loudly for peace. But there is no peace. The chief cause is because no one has the ability to settle the conflict between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. In short, the longer the Civil War is fought, the longer the Chinese people suffer.

Fellow countrymen! We are all Chinese citizens. We should love China and be peace-makers, not peace-destroyers. Let us all rise up and bring our senseless civil strife to an immediate end.

SUN TZE HSU.

Nantung, Kiangsu,
October 20, 1947.

Letter From Abroad

To The Editor:

Herewith is a copy of a letter addressed to Gen. Chiang Kai-shek by Lee Daiming, ex-member of the Chinese Cabinet and Choy Jun-ke, a prominent figure in the Shanghai community before the war, for your publication.

R. T.

San Francisco,
October 13, 1947.

Dear General Chiang:

Since General Wedemeyer's farewell statement to the press, the world is disappointed in you. Although you have announced that you will overcome the dangerous situation it is doubtful that it could be done since those around you could not assist you.

First, you state that you must wipe out Communism. You failed to nip Communism in its bud during the long Communist trek and to hold the Communists in check during the last 10 years. In-

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stead your followers have created conditions favorable for the growth of Communism. The Communist regular army is 1,700,000 with a guerrilla force of 4,000,000. Lin Piao is your student; Kao Shui-fen and Chao Sui-shan were your army commanders. But they are now all generals of the Communist army. Your followers instead of reforming themselves are branding all patriots and supporters of the democratic movement Communists, and your best henchmen are silent because of their fear that they might be suspected of being with the Communists. You have very few good and loyal followers left. The recent levy of taxes in kind, loans and recruits for your Communist expeditions are forcing the people to sympathize with the Communistic cause. Hence, instead of suppressing Communism you are helping the growth of Communism. According to the latest reports your troops in the front are tired of the civil strife, and they, instead of firing at the Communists, shoot into the air. Consequently Liu Po-cheng is able to move freely in the Yangtze region, and the gates of the capital have had to be closed many times to keep his hordes out. Your Chen Cheng boasted that the Communists could be liquidated in three months, and now it is more than six months and will soon be a year.

Second, you proposed that the inflation must be arrested by all means. All your acts point the other way. The continuation of the Civil War means more printing of paper money, and also the preparation of the coming controlled and un-free elections means additional expenses. China is bankrupt since the Second World War and the people need economic recuperation. Production and not destruction is what the country requires; war and inflation will bring destruction.

Third, the other provinces free from the Communist menace have been the victims of the large scale political exploitation, and the farmers and merchants have no redress. The provincial military rulers are a law unto themselves. Your latest replacement of the military governor in Kwangtung by the notorious T. V. Soong, your brother-in-law, is equally as bad.

Fourth, we respect you for your pledge of giving the country a democratic form of government and the intention of carrying out the new constitution. You must know that the country is paralyzed from your 20 years of political tutelage. You have trained many political slaves, whose political philosophy is dictatorship. In such an environment it is impossible to carry out the three parties' political agreement. Furthermore, your secret instruction to the Kuomintang Central Committee on Sept. 6, 1947, of making use of the Young China Party and the Socialist Democratic Party "to kid" them along in order to put up a false democratic front for diplomatic effect and your coming elections along the same lines as practised by Yuan Shih-kai, are additional reasons.

There are eight solutions to the country's problems, as follows:

(1) Convene another meeting of all the political parties including new ones and prominent organizations of the people. HAND YOUR POLITICAL POWER OVER TO THEM TO EFFECT THE NECESSARY REORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

(2) Before the opening of the above People's Assembly the following acts are necessary:

1. Issue an order to stop the Civil War and another order to stop the present controlled and un-free elections.
2. Abolish the secret police (Gestapo).
3. Free all the political prisoners including the students recently arrested.
4. Restore the people's civil and political liberties.
5. Reorganize the courts and let them be independent and free, outside of military and political influences.
6. Replace the provincial military governors with outstanding civilians of integrity.
7. Order all military to resign from political parties.

If you carry out the above two programs you have done your share and can retire like Washington.

(Signed)

DAI-MING LEE
JUN-KE CHOY.

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One More Step

THE National Government this week outlawed the Democratic League, thus ending the organized political life of the last group in Kuomintang dominated China which might be called an opposition party. From now on the KMT will be the undisputed master of the political arena, having only to contend with the so-called minor parties, the Democratic Socialists and the Young China Party, which actually amount to nothing more than mere appendages scrambling among themselves to gobble up the precious few crumbs left after the Kuomintang has finished feeding.

The KMT announcement outlawing the Democratic League claimed that the Government had concrete evidence of League connections with the similarly outlawed Communist Party. However, the Government as yet has not seen fit to produce any proof, relying upon the old official method of saying, "We have the proof; that is sufficient." Naturally, being the product of a social system where proof is usually presented first and the accused not sentenced until he has a chance at least to attempt to refute the charges against him, we think Nanking put the cart before the horse. We would like to SEE the proof.

However, the chances that Nanking ever will produce much in the nature of concrete evidence of its charges is doubtful since the tenor of the Government lately has been to take an increasingly hostile attitude toward anyone who refuses to bow down in abject, submissive agreement, let alone anyone who dares to question the infallible wisdom of Nanking's bureaucrats. Another evidence of this, as we pointed out last week, is the Government's gradual approach toward the implementation of some form of wartime censorship.

In the eyes of the Kuomintang, the League's most heinous crimes have been its insistence upon the principle of a coalition government with the Communists, rather than a war of extermination, and its refusal to participate in the "reorganized" Kuomintang government. This can easily be interpreted as "following the Communist line" if one wishes so to interpret it, since the Communists have taken the same position. The Communists, with the exception of periodic outbursts villifying various Nanking politicoes, including the Generalissimo, have steadily maintained that they are willing to participate in a coalition government. Like the League, they consider the National Assembly of last year and the constitution it drafted as a farcical show put on by the KMT to impress upon the world that China is now democratic.

* * *

ASIDE from what one may personally think of outlawing the League, it is obvious that a new period — maybe short lived, maybe long-lived—is being entered upon. The chance for compromise apparently grows more distant every day as the KMT attempts to tighten its control over the country and, incidentally, its own membership. Generals and high politicoes have been arrested, organized political groups have been ordered either to join and support the Nanking regime or to disband and take their chances in jail. From a party of the bourgeoise, the KMT is growing into a group anxious to stay in power at all costs. If it succeeds, China's government may well develop into a corporate state affair. It it fails, we probably will see a totalitarian Communist regime come to power within the forseeable future.

The only alternative, as we see it, is still compromise. While the mere mention of the word "compromise" is almost a crime today, it may become the slogan of tomorrow, especially if the war drags on in an inconclusive manner for a few more years. Also, time seems to be against the KMT, unless extensive American aid is forthcoming, and it may well be that some of Nanking's bureaucrats who today are determined to fight to the death may take a new view of the value of their necks if the Government's military position continues to worsen.

China's "Blair" House

LAST January we made a few comments about the purchase of a house for General Glenn E. Edgerton, then head of UNRRA, for the CNC equivalent of US$120,000. This house, according to the first news stories, was purchased by CNRRA out of CNRRA funds supposedly given to this agency for relief purposes. After we, and a large section of the local press, remarked that we thought the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration could find better things to do with US$120,000 than buying luxurious houses, a subsequent press story from Nanking denied that CNRRA had bought the house. The Central Trust, it was stated, was the actual purchaser.

Apparently feeling that an even better explanation was needed, a Nanking statement dreamed up the idea of an official "guest house" and attacked all who questioned the right of the Government to provide for "distinguished foreign guests," citing the fact that various other nations provided guest houses, such as the famed Blair House in Washington.

At that time we said: "CNRRA eased itself out of another scandal last weekend by announcing that the first announcement to the effect that it had paid US$120,000 for a house for UNRRA

Director General Edgerton was all wrong..... Further, CNRRA lamely explained, the US$120,000 establishment was in actuality an official Chinese guest house for distinguished foreign visitors and Edgerton was merely scheduled as the first occupant."

We pointed out at that time that a guest house was certainly okay but that it was normally the practice to establish guest houses in the national capital, not in cities a few hundred miles distant. We also remarked that guest houses were just what their name implied: official residences for *guests*, official foreign personages who visited for a few days or weeks, not homes for various foreign functionaries for months on end. However, feeling that there wasn't a great deal more to be said, we shut up about the matter.

Meanwhile, several important official guests have visited China. None of them, to our knowledge, has been installed in this much talked about "guest house." In fact, we are now informed, the house is occupied by a high Central Government official who moved in as soon as Edgerton moved out.

There is really not much point to further comment if this report be true. Obviously, the Government, having paid a fancy price for the structure — although at that time there were plenty of Alien Property Administration houses available—has clear title to it and can make it a "guest house" for foreign dignitaries one day and a "suitable residence" for an important official the next if it so desires.

However, it does seem that Nanking went to rather extreme lengths to make the affair appear plausible. Perhaps this was because CNRRA possibly was the actual buyer and later had its money refunded by the Government. In any event, the house now belongs to the Government and apparently no longer can be called China's Blair House.

Watch The Japs---IV

THERE were optimists among us who had believed that something could yet be done to prevent Japanese imperialism from reviving in this part of the world. Our hopes are dashed to pieces, for no other authority than James Keen, of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East is reported to have told the *Manila Bulletin* that "Japan, the leading nation of Asia before the war, is bound to hold an important role in shaping postwar Asia, whether China, Australia, and the Philippines like it or not."

This is a very solacing thought, but we fail to understand the stress on this "like it or not" business. No country, to our knowledge has come out with a demand that Japan be eliminated from the Asian scene. No one has asked for the elimination and destruction of the Japanese people, and it is therefore not entirely clear as to why Mr. Keen should insist that "Far Eastern countries must not shirk the fact that Japan is a part of the Orient and cannot be ignored in the preparation of an overall plan for economic recovery." From over here, Mr. Keen sounded like a member of SCAP, but analyzing the *AP* dispatch we discovered that he was after all a UN official.

While some speak frankly, as has Mr. Keen, SCAP says nothing at all, except for its meaningless monthly reports on the progress of Christianity in Japan, the while doing its best to assure that this country "is not ignored in the preparation of an overall plan for economic recovery."

* * *

THE sensational reports on Japan's progress from heathenism to democracy and Christianity have been relegated to the back pages or have entirely disappeared from the news. Their place has been taken by inconspicuous dispatches of economic character on Japanese silk sales, on the prospects of economic recovery, on frozen assets. Appearing on the economic pages of the daily press as they do, these reports do not arouse the suspicion of the average citizen. But if they are analyzed they reveal the unending and persistent efforts of SCAP aimed at creating in Japan a powerful force to dominate the Far East. Certainly, such solicitude as is being shown to Japanese business prospects and economic recovery would be welcomed by any member of the United Nations which currently finds itself in dire straits.

* * *

FROM Tokyo, for example, we learn that the Far Eastern Commission (on SCAP's recommendation) has presented the "Japanese economy" with a US$500,000,000 blueprint for recovery. This is backed by US$137,000,000 worth of gold, silver and precious jewels made available to the Japanese Government from frozen assets in Japan, which is to be the basis of the import-export revolving fund.

The well informed *Current Economy of Japan* commented:

"It is thus clear, that the fund is intended primarily to accelerate the industrial recovery of Japan and the Japanese must not jump to a hasty conclusion that the establishment of the fund may produce the immediate salutary effect of enriching their economic life." Like many other Japanese, the magazine is well aware that to shout Banzai at this time would be undiplomatic.

* * *

NEXT we read a dispatch from New York to the effect that Japanese silk sales are to be taken over by SCAP. The US Commercial Company will withdraw from the business on December 31, and the Japanese Board of Trade, under SCAP supervision, will handle the trade from then on. It is believed, the dispatch says, that SCAP will allow "freer play of normal trade factors..." One of the interpretations of this freer play is that silk will be listed on the "free trade" category, which will enable the Japanese to contact their buyers directly. In business language the *Reuter's* dispatch reveals that "trade circles are generally optimistic that granting moderate success in the Japanese silk weaving program—and grades of silk reeled during the last 12 months have improved remarkably — and granting a gradual improvement in sales of raw silk abroad as a result of more liberal marketing

policies to be adopted by SCAP, the present stockpile of silk might slowly go down to more normal proportions."

There is a lot of meaning to this paragraph, especially to the last phrase, which in fact signifies that more Japanese silk will go abroad to flood the markets. There is nothing wrong with this perspective, with the exception, perhaps, of the fact that peace with Japan has not yet been worked out by all the nations concerned. Under these circumstances SCAP appears to be pursuing its own quiet line, without "prejudicing" any decisions that may later be adopted at the conference on the Japanese peace treaty. It is easy to divine just what importance such decisions will have in face of the fait accompli of Japanese economic resurgence by that time.

* * *

JAPANESE economic revival may not be such a dangerous thing under normal democratic conditions, but who will assert, outside of SCAP, that Japan has become a democracy and that there is no danger of a repetition of Sino-Japanese history.

Long after General MacArthur had announced half a dozen times that the Zaibatsu were smashed, we read a report from Tokyo on September 12, carried by *Central News*. The report said that the Katayama Cabinet has decided to submit to the Diet the economic decentralization bill, reportedly handed down by SCAP headquarters. "The bill was designed to break up the Zaibatsu interests and forestall any future monopolistic control in Japanese economy. However, most financial and economic circles regarded the bill as a disintegration of Japanese economy."

Now, unless it is true that the Zaibatsu have been abolished as General MacArthur had so often declared, the *Central News* should exercise extreme care in spreading such reports, for they give the impression that the Zaibatsu is *about* to be broken up.

Of extreme interest is this warning sounded by "financial and economic circles." One does not have to be a prophet to realize that these "financial and economic circles" have some connection with said Zaibatsu to be so worried about the "disintegration" of the Japanese economy. We wonder, for example, if the Japanese workers and middle class businessmen see eye to eye with these "circles?"

Moreover, this is not the first time in history that the breakup of monopolies is meeting with resistance from the monopolists themselves, and it is invariably warned that "chaos" and "disintegration" will ensure as the result of such "drastic" policies. Naturally, peace loving economists, with some adulation in respect of "order" will always uphold these jeremiahs. Order must be preserved at all costs, even at the cost of breaking up the Zaibatsu!

* * *

WHILE Japanese monopolists are expressing concern over the future of Japanese industry, Japanese landlords have gone democratic under SCAP guidance. It appears that 30 large landlords have filed suit against the Japanese Government in respect of the rural land reform law which they contend is "unconstitutional." These minions of Japanese imperialism have been quick to embrace democracy at its worst: the land reform law is unconstitutional they say, because it is based on the old constitution which became obsolete on May 2, 1947. Moreover, they assert that the law which is to free the Japanese peasant from ages of feudalism, is unconstitutional even if the old constitution remained in force. Why? "Because it runs counter to public interests."

Have we heard anything from SCAP on this legal point? Is the land reform to be *enforced* or will landlords be allowed "freedom of expression" even before the peace treaty is signed? We await the Solomonic judgment of SCAP, but there is a feeling in some circles that the legality of the landlord's questioning the legality of the land reform law will be exhibited as another powerful demonstration of just how seriously the Japanese have taken to this new democracy business.

* * *

A great contemporary of ours has gone on record as advising the Tenno (i.e. the emperor) to abdicate and give place to another emperor for it has now been discovered that Hirohito has not been "the bumbling, ineffectual ruler or ignorant or innocent puppet" that he has been made out to be. It has been revealed to some that he had been a willing participant of Japanese aggression, and therefore should abdicate and let Japan start with a "fresh emperor"—a clean break with the past. In other words; "Down With Hirohito."—"Long Live Hirohito!"

It is really amusing to read of such proposals in this 20th Century, which is sometimes called the Century of the Common Man. When America, in her time, broke off with an emperor, who harkened to the voices suggesting a clean break with the past and a new emperor? Yet what was not good enough for us, appears to be good enough for the Japanese people, and some two centuries later. Will real democracy never come to Japan, except through the installation of another puppet in place of Hirohito?

* * *

THINGS may not be as dark in Japan, as they appear to us who live in China. But, then, neither are they as bright as they appear to those who live in the Dai Ichi Building. Japan is coming back so fast it takes our breath away, at times. And Japanese technicians are also speedily returning to this country, according to the *United Press!*

"Hanichi Yada and Minoru Tsutsumi of the Shibaura Turbine Manufacturing Company will leave for China at the earliest possible opportunity as the first Japanese engineers to visit China since the end of the war."

It is not such a long time ago that the Shibaura concern was manipulating the local Andersen, Meyer plants in this very city.

Who's Disloyal?

THE House Un-American Activities Committee, originally organized to probe un-American activities, has been conspicuous for investigating Com-

munist and alleged Communist organizations and individuals in the United States. Its fervor has been most commendable in recent weeks, and has now given support to a nation wide witchhunt of unprecedented proportions. The only comparable drive in this field of so-called un-American activities was the one recorded shortly after World War I. But then it was understandable: many peace loving citizens were perturbed by the October Revolution in Russia and its consequences. But the most conspicuous characteristic of the House Un-American Activities investigations is that there has not been a single report that Nazi and pro-Nazi operations in the United States are being probed by this outfit. This is far from saying that fascist organizations in the US have not been active.

The latest, and by far the most crude "investigation" carried out by the committee is the attempt to smear prominent Hollywood stars and screen writers. The most fantastic pictures manufactured in Hollywood lose their color in face of this campaign. Press reports of the goings on at the committee hearings verge on the ridiculous, or could be classed in that category, if they were not so dangerous. Paul V. McNutt, special counsel for the Motion Picture Association has well said that the only "proof" offered by the leaders of this committee of a widespread Communist plot in the colony is "generalized statements, unsupported by evidence." McNutt has hit the nail on the head, for in the entire campaign conducted by this committee, facts have been curiously ignored in preference to charges and plain abuse.

* * *

COUPLED with the loyalty checks in Washington which have terrorized Government employees, the expanding activities of the Committee aimed at intimidating plain citizens who have at one time or another spoken up on some controversial subject (particularly foreign policy), present a grave threat to the continuation of civil liberties in the United States. The fight for the Bill of Rights has been taken up by the Progressive Citizens of America and other groups, and a "Committee for the First Amendment" has been formed. But the fact that nothing concrete has yet been accomplished to suppress the workings of this fascist body which is permitted to abrogate the inalienable rights of Americans and intimidate their leading citizens, gives cause for grave concern. Meetings have been held in New York, following the sentencing of novelist Howard Fast to three months in jail as the result of efforts of the Un-American Committee, but a nation wide movement to eliminate this body has yet to start.

Senator Claude Pepper, Florida Democrat, last week denounced the Committee as a "threat to American civil liberties and advised witnesses to refuse to answer the Committee's questions." He explained that witnesses should refuse answers when "the Committee invades their civil liberties." This advice may be sound, if the Committee leaders were sane. But inasmuch as they have cast all semblance of reason to the winds and have conducted their inquiries in the witchhunt

"Here's the record, Chief. He's a member of the Sons of Democracy, the American Friends of Worldwide Democracy, the Guardians of the American Heritage, The people's League for Good Citizenship, the Friends of Freedom, the Conference for the Furtherance of Constitutional Government, the League for the Preservation of American Freedom, the Sentinels of Democracy, the Golden Rule Association, the Society for the Support of the Constitution of the United States, the International Congress for the Furtherance of Democracy, the Conference for the Observance of the Ten Commandments, and the Society for the Preservation of North American Wild Life. We think he's a Commie."—*New Yorker Magazine.*

manner — arbitrary, menacing, insinuating — Senator Pepper's advice can hardly prove helpful. Among other things it may land the witnesses in jail, precisely for not answering questions—the committee is quick at invoking the "contempt of Congress" clause.

This state of affairs has come about because the extent and meaning of "un-American" and "disloyal" has never been specified or delineated. There is no one in the Committee willing to go on record as to just what its members understand to be "un-American." The American press has carried arguments to show that under the procedure and interpretation adopted by the committee, Washington and Lincoln and a dozen other American national heroes would have been condemned as un-American, if Thomas had been around to check on their activities.

* * *

IN the September issue of *Harper's* magazine, Professor Henry Steele Commager, analyzed this situation in an article entitled "Who Is Loyal To America?" One of the examples Professor Commager gave was the case of a Washington D. C., schoolteacher who compared the American and Soviet school systems and institutions—"superficially and uncritically." "The most careful examination of the speech—happily reprinted for us in the *Congressional Record*—does not disclose a single disparagement of anything American unless it is a quasi-humorous reference to the cost of having a baby and of dental treatment in this country," Professor Commager writes. "Mrs. Lewis said nothing that had not been said a thousand times in speeches, in newspapers,

magazines and books. She said nothing that any normal person could find objectionable," he adds.

Her speech created a great sensation. A movement began in the capital and Congressmen Rankin and Dirksen "thundered and lightened; the District of Columbia Committee went into a huddle; there were demands for housecleaning in the whole school system, which was obviously shot through and through with Communism."

Merely by talking about Russia, Mrs. Lewis was thought to be attacking Americanism, the author says.

* * *

THERE is another typical case. The paintings that the State Department had sent abroad to advertize American culture came under fire although no one explained just what was wrong with the collection of paintings in question. Most explicit was Mr. Rankin: "No American drew these crazy pictures." The files of the Un-American Committee revealed that of 50 artists involved, no less than 20 "were definitely New Deal in various shades of Communism." One of these, Ben-Zion, is charged with having signed a petition to President Roosevelt sent by the United American Artists which urged help to the USSR and Britian after Hitler attacked Russia. "He was, in short, a fellow traveller of Churchill and Roosevelt," Professor Commager explains.

While this purge of "Un-American" artists was taking place, Representative Williams of Mississippi spoke in the House in denuncation of an article in *Survey-Graphic*, which he said was "outrageously vile and nauseating, anti-Southern, anti-Christian, un-American and pro-Communist tripe." Representative Williams' exegesis of Americanism will undoubtedly clarify the entire situation.

Professor Commager, professor of History at Columbia University adds:

"In the making is a revival of the red hysteria of the 1920s, one of the shabbiest chapters in the history of American democracy; and more than a revival, for the new crusade is designed not merely to frustrate Communism, but to formulate a positive definition of Americanism, a positive concept of loyalty."

It need not be added that such "positive" definitions are far removed from the conception of American democracy as generations of Americans have known it. This attempt at formulating "positive" concepts of loyalty is a "confession of fear, a declaration of insolvency."

* * *

WHEN such activities are condoned by Congress, or at least nothing is done by that august body to put an end to the disgraceful activities of the House Committee, it is time to ask who is actually disloyal, the citizens the committee probes or the committee itself. Every effort to confine Americanism to a single pattern, such as appears to be the ultimate goal of the committee, is in itself disloyalty to everything that makes Americanism worthwhile.

Furthermore, it will be remembered that when the question was raised as to why the Rankin Committee did not investigate the activities of, say, the Ku Klux-Klan, this worthy replied that the Klan is not un-American: it's American! Fortunately for America, Mr. Rankin has been known to err in the past.

Going into the business of who's un-American and who's disloyal it seems to be high time that vigorous action be taken to curb the un-American activities of the House Committee which has heaped more disgrace on the United States than anti-American propaganda can hope to do in a year. It is high time to investigate Representatives Rankin, Thomas and others as to their fascist activities, to probe into their warped minds to find out what makes them so un-American. Perhaps when these gentlemen are thoroughly probed, peace will again descend on American intellectuals and they will be permitted to read the *Nation* and other liberal magazines without furtively glancing in every direction.

25 Years Ago In The *Weekly Review Of The Far East*

Silver Prospects

October 28, 1922.

SENATOR Pittman of Nevada and other Western US Senators have proposed direct aid by the United States to China through the loan of about 80,000,000 ounces of silver still remaining out of the original silver dollar reserves in the United States Treasury. The loan would be to the Government of China and not to the silver buyers there and would automatically extend the life of the present Pittman law that the silver sold to China would be re-purchased in our markets in the same manner in which the British-Indian transaction during the war was handled.

* * *

British Loan To Canton

THE Canton government has been negotiating several British loans during the last few weeks. The negotiations have been conducted in secret and thus far only one contract has been sent to the Kwangtung Provincial Assembly for action, this being the currency reform loan, the one most likely to receive the support of the people, as it will create a reserve for the present depreciating notes which cause much public suffering.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Anglo-American Relations

October 23, 1937.

IN the past few weeks there has suddenly arisen in certain circles in the United States a suspicion of British foreign policy which is most hysterical in intensity. It is epitomized in the catchy title of Quincy Howe's book, "England Expects Every American To Do His Duty," but its intensity requires more fundamental explanation than is to be found in his pages. A certain amount of anti-British feeling has existed in the United States from the Revolution down to modern times, as was evidenced, for example, by Major Thompson's antics in Chicago.

* * *

Mongolian Affairs

DOMEI—"With the capture of Paotow the Japanese Army had gained a position of dominance in Mongolian Affairs ....By capturing Paocho, 30 kilometers west of Paotow, the Japanese and Inner-Mongolian forces (led by Prince Teh Wang), have nearly completed a wedge which will prevent the Nanking Government and the Chinese Communist Armies from receiving assistance from Ulan Bator, capital of the Outer Mongolian Soviet Republic....

How To Get Present Peace, Future Trouble In Japan

DAVID CONDE

THE actions of SCAP in its attempts to mould the Japanese people in its own conservative image began in the first days of the Occupation before the political ferment had even started. Most of these pressures were applied indirectly, as when General MacArthur revealed his thinking on New Year's Day, giving all out praise for Hirohito's Imperial Rescript which, in part, deplored the "excessive radical tendencies" of the people.

Statements attempting to discredit Communism and radicalism began with the peculiar so-called 1946 May Day Plot, in which a queer Kempetai member somehow was supposedly going to attempt to injure General MacArthur, during the May Day activities. This "plot" was announced by SCAP in advance of May Day, and if there were any such plan for mischief afoot, this seemed the best way to assure that the culprit would escape. This was followed within a few days by General MacArthur's statement denouncing violent demonstrations, although most observers agreed that the political demonstrations of April and May 1946, maintained the highest degree of order.

In the early summer of 1946, the American representative on the Allied Council for Japan, George F. Acheson Jr., stated that the United States was opposed to Communism in the US and also in Japan, bringing great encouragement to Japanese nationalists, who recalled that these were their own sentiments as expressed in the alliance with Germany and Italy.

Commemorating the first year of the Occupation, in September 1946, General MacArthur spoke of the "clash of ideologies" raging in Japan and proceeded to denounce "extreme" Leftist ideology in the strongest possible terms.

No Politics

During the autumn of 1946, SCAP's Labor Division frequently tried to lead the Japanese labor movement away from political action. General MacArthur's statement banning the February 1947 "General Strike" was both a studied attack upon the forces of the left and an attempts to frighten the people into conservative ways by threatening to withhold food. A month later, General MacArthur's letter to Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida was a strong boost for the forces of conservatism.

Actions taken by SCAP which *openly* tried to control the direction of the Japanese people, were not many, and by far the most important of these was the banning of the "General Strike." The assigning of Military Police to overawe demonstrators, and the use of MPs to help break the *Yomiuri* newspaper strike of June, 1946, as well as the radio strike of December, 1946, did not go unnoticed by the Japanese. Nor did SCAP's action in ordering the railroad workers to remove chalked labor slogans from trains and railroad equipment.

Secret SCAP Action

Of far more importance in shaping the course of the Occupation were the *secret* actions of SCAP, which sought to achieve conservative ends without the benefit of publicity. These included the behind-the-scenes activities of Major Daniel Imboden, of SCAP's Press Section, and General Frayne Baker, General MacArthur's Public Relations Officer, when they broke the *Yomiuri* newspaper union. SCAP's Press Section also exerted constant pressure on Japanese newspapers to eliminate news favorable to leftists, and editors of such liberal papers as *Minpo* were told to "stop running a Communist paper." The secret purges of leftists conducted on *Yomiuri*, *Hokkaido* and other newspapers by SCAP's Press Section were also of great importance in changing the orientation of all Japanese newspapers from liberal-leftist to conservative. Many Japanese newspapermen insist that Major Imboden broke the October, 1946, newspaper strike by spreading rumors that the *Yomiuri*, by this time operating with a "company union," would increase its circulation to replace all strike bound papers in order to keep the people informed on the progress of the Occupation.

Owners of newspapers, who had been nervous because of their war propaganda records, and who since the Occupation began had been inclined to let their employees run the papers, while they sat by quietly waiting to see if SCAP meant all the things it said, finally took courage from SCAP and resumed "editorial responsibility." SCAP censorship officials have said that only half of one percent of all news is deleted by American censorship, ignoring the fact that with the return of editorial control to dubious owners, these owners have exercised a pre-censorship which has eliminated much of the liberal tone which prevailed during their "vacation."

The Japanese newspaper workers, who have heard SCAP officials speak frequently of the freedom of the press, were finally able to understand that in the eyes of SCAP a free press was one in which the owner, and only the owner, had freedom to express his opinion.

SCAP's Failure To Act

The most important method used by SCAP in shaping the political pattern of Japan was failure to take action, and attempting to maintain the myth that the Japanese Government is a sovereign, responsible body.

STEAMROLLER

China Digest

The first instance of this was when SCAP failed to prevent the Japanese police from arresting and imprisoning the leaders of the food Revealing Committee. A similar omission was failure to prevent the Japanese Government from arresting several people for "Lese Majeste," a crime which would seem to be outmoded in a democracy.

In May, 1946, when SCAP banned "violence" in demonstrations, it was content to ignore the fact that for many months thereafter the reactionary Yoshida Government interpreted this to mean that all demonstrations were banned. This refusal to grant the required police permit for a political demonstration was a denial of one of the basic freedoms, the right to assemble.

SCAP's failure to put the Emperor or any of the Zaibatsu on trial as war criminals was also an early indication of the Occupation-to-be. SCAP's failure to remove war statues and other propaganda monuments scattered all over Japan was a small but significant straw in the wind.

Sadists Still Free

Of more importance was SCAP's failure to arrest any of the police who sadistically tortured prisoners in Japanese jails, particularly "Thought Prisoners." Nor were the leaders of the Kempeitai, the brutal gendarmery, arrested and tried for their crimes against the Japanese people. That no Japanese Government has taken this action voluntarily is an index to the continuing power of the police and to the unchanged nature of these governments.

That the Japanese Government was allowed to pass a law restricting labor in the Autumn of 1946, many months before it legalized the rights of labor, as enunciated by SCAP, was an educational bit of Occupation history.

SCAP's failure to prevent Japanese leaders and newspapers from carrying on their anti-Korean, anti-Formosan and anti-Chinese witch hunt in the summer of 1946, in which these people were blamed, scapegoat fashion, for the prevailing black-market evils, was of lasting and international significance.

When SCAP banned the "General Strike" in February, 1947, the Yoshida Government interpreted this to mean that all strikes were banned, and for several months strikes were not permitted. SCAP was aware of this, but did nothing to compel the Japanese Government to correct its policy.

SCAP Supports Yoshida

Although SCAP's Government Section opposed the Yoshida-proposed Election Law changes in April, 1947, on the grounds that they favored the entrenched conservative political parties, General MacArthur told this SCAP section to cease its opposition to this proposal. General MacArthur is quoted as saying that this was a matter that only concerned the Japanese Government and members of the Government Section were not even to express an opinion on the proposed laws. It is stated that Prime Minister Yoshida had carried the matter directly to General MacArthur and had won his support.

Prime Minister Yoshida had told the Diet, some months earlier, that there would be no changes in the Election Laws prior to the Spring post-constitution election. It is an interesting fact that before the world learned of the new election law, General MacArthur is quoted as having told visitors that the conservative parties would be very successful in the election, with the Socialists losing half of their seats and the Communists all.

The most important single omission on the part of SCAP was the failure to purge immediately "War Criminals" from Government and business when it had the evidence, instead seeking often to delay the purging of important persons until their removal would have the minimum political effect. This is the most important single device used by SCAP to maintain a reactionary postwar structure.

Perhaps it was natural that the Communist was the only political party in Japan that pressed for an immediate carrying out of the purge, since the Communist, of all political parties, was the only one containing no "war criminals."

Rightists Not Purged

Failure to purge rightwing Socialists in the Spring of 1946, meant the end of the proposed Democratic Front between the Socialists and the Communists, as it was the rightwing faction that bitterly opposed such unity. Had this cooperation taken place, the entire political picture in Japan would have been different. Later, SCAP did purge many of the right wing socialists, along with "Liberals" and "Progressives," but it did not eliminate all accused of being war criminals. In the present so-called "middle-of-the-road" cabinet of Katayama, we find Suehiro Nishio, who stated in 1942 when he ran for the Diet in the Tojo election, "My platform is: Everyone should shed blood for our country in this all out war by identifying himself with the soldier at the front, dedicating his whole life to the consummation of the Greater East Asia War."

Another member of this present "Socialist" cabinet is Minister Rikizo Hirano, right-wing socialist leader. Hirano was formerly membership director of the Imperial Way Society, founded in 1933, composed of nationalistic ex-soldiers, and with Lt. Gen. Morizo Todoriki as president. Ten army officers and Hirano made up the directorate. The stated principles of this organization were: "To spread the Imperial Rule (of Hirohito) and promote the glory of the nation. To perfect national defense through expansion of armaments. The promotion of international justice, and an equitable distribution of the world's goods."

Hirano was also a member of national - socialist organizations, among them the Japan National Socialist School, of which he was a director. Dr. Shumei Okawa, now on trial with Tojo, and Japan's leading political strategist and propagandist, was also an officer of this same organization.

Prominent Jap NAZI

Failure to purge *in time* enabled many "purgeables" to run for the Diet in the very important April, 1946, General Election, thus continuing reactionary domination under the guise of a people's mandate under a "free election." Although quite a number of the successful candidates were strategically purged at a later date, none were ever prosecuted by SCAP for concealing information or filing false election returns. Iichiro Hatoyama, leader of the "Liberal" party, was finally purged because Allied correspondents spread the story of his pro-nazi record to the world. SCAP had ample evidence to move against Hatoyama, but did not do so until pressure from the press compelled his removal.

Failure to purge in time made it possible for many "purgees" to deliberate and to enact the American-written new Japanese Constitution. Critics have said that it is understandable why the Japanese Government had to appropriate large sums of money and establish a nationwide organization to "popularize" such a constitution.

When old fashioned Japanese

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terror emerged in the autumn of 1946, and trade union leaders were knifed to prevent them from carrying on their duties, SCAP did not speak up against this resurgence of rule by intimidation. When "patriotic youths" in Hokkaido wrecked the Communist headquarters, no one but the Communists deplored the fact.

Having used many devious methods to control the "radical tendencies" of the Japanese people, including the approval of the Japanese police plan to reinstitute the old practice of spying on trade union and other organizations, and checking the "thought tendencies" of all groups, it is admitted that SCAP has achieved a degree of stability. But this practice has solved nothing. The Japanese people remain largely ignorant or nationalistic, complying with the powers placed above.

The liberal intelligensia, the left-wing socialists and the Communists, as before the war, remain the one group who wish to change Japan from the bottom up, but having seen SCAP's efforts to "democratize" Japan, they are fearful for the future. They know how regimented the Japanese people still are, and they know the secret burning patriotism of many nationalists.

Their hope and confidence in the face of such sombre facts is the conviction that they alone, with a program based on the peoples needs, can solve the tremendous problems lying ahead for Japan. They are thinking in terms of houses for the millions of homeless, not overseas markets for Mitsuis, they are thinking in terms of a national health program, not in the export of drugs. They are not thinking of communism or even socialism for Japan, they are thinking of democracy. They want to *see* the things talked of by SCAP, a "real" smashing of Zaibatsu, a "real" land reform, a "really" free election, all the things which have not been achieved.

They say that with such a program they will win. They may be persecuted for a time, but inevitably the people will see who has the solution to their problems, who really promises a better life.

The picture in Japan is dark but .... the future is with the people.

A Visit To Jogjakarta

Walter Briggs

Jogjakarta, Java.

SOMETHING'S wrong with the pitch the Dutch folks are passing out up in Batavia. Maybe their Army's intelligence is at fault. Or perhaps the keys are pied on their propagandists' typewriters. Those radio commentators possibly are drinking too much Bols gin.

Try as I might I can't find a single terrorist here. I can't find any of that lawlessness or panic the Dutch talk about in Batavia. I can't even find that starvation. Very, very strange. I'd think perhaps it was me, except that foreign consular officials coming here for the Security Council's investigation apparently didn't catch up with that Batavia pitch either.

But actually the Dutch are partially right. "They're extremists!" screams Lieutenant Governor General Dr. Hubertus J. van Mook, when discussing the Republic's officialdom. Except for a few extremists, the Indonesians really like us, the Dutch declare. What the Dutch don't seem to realize—or at least refuse to acknowledge—is that almost all Indonesians are by Dutch standards extremists. With the Indonesians its freedom—or else . . .

Two-Year Blockade

Jogjakarta, the Republic's capital, looks a lot like any other city in the Indies: wide, tree lined streets, squat homes with plenty of window space to catch the cooling breezes, the Chinese bazaar. If Jogjakarta seems a bit more tarnished than Dutch-held coastal cities, one must remember that it has been under Dutch blockade for two years following the Japanese occupation.

Jogjakarta is unique in one respect. The Indonesians here are not their usually lackadaisical selves. Officials especially are charged with energy, tense with excitement. They are fighting a war from here—and building a new state.

I flew here with four Australian officers attached to the consular commission. The Dutch did their utmost to obstruct correspondents, despite van Mook's pious assertion that Holland was ready to show all in the Indies. Foreign pressure finally forced them to about face.

The war is here as you circle the asphalt strip after two hours over the everlasting emerald fields which harbor Java's wealth. At the side of the strip lie the skeletons of the Japanese fighters—the sole strength of the Indonesian air force—which were machine gunned by Dutch planes. Nearby, rest the riddled remains of the Red Cross C 47 from Singapore—also efficiently purged, along with eight lives and a cargo of medicine.

Danger of Air Raids

There is war as you drive the dusty road to town, weaving in and out of road blocks of steel pickets and around tree trunks thrust across the way, and as you hear the farmers and their kids, the families with the bamboo spears, shouting, "Merdeka! (freedom)" while they grin because you're not the Dutch. Everywhere you see slit trenches, the little man's best bet against death from the air, and sandbagged sentry posts.

Jogjakarta is a peacetime city of 300,000, but now the population is up to what the local gentry call a "short million." The streets are crowded like a carnival midway. Most people walk, but some ride bicycles or chance the rickety cycle pushed rickshaws and one-horse shays. Only government brass possesses cars, most dilapidated prewar models. For a war capital there are few soldiers here. This used to be a soldier's town, like Jacksonville, Fla., or Peoria, Ill., or a hundred other places near the camps. Now most of the soldiers have gone to the fronts. Along with them, the high school boys. The government decreed recently that lads younger than 15 must return to the classrooms.

Most of Jogjakarta's newcomers are refugees from Dutch "liberation," ill-clothed because of the Dutch commodity blockade, but well fed like almost all Indonesians in Republican territory. They seem to be taking life in stride, although government officials admit that it is difficult getting them settled and finding enough jobs. In fact, most visitors immediately are impressed by the confidence and dignity displayed by the Indonesians here. "They seem happy here, far happier than Indonesians in Dutch territory," one consular official commented. But then they are free here. Jogjakarta's spirit is akin to Chungking's in the early years before lethergy and corruption overcame China's wartime capital.

Utilities Function

For a city cut off from normal intercourse with the world, Jogjakarta is doing remarkably well. Trains come and go on time, water runs from taps (a rare occurrence in Batavia), lights usually respond to the switch, telephones bring the right party. Best of all, hordes of children pour into the schools. No books, no paper, but increasingly bigger classes, something to which the Dutch rarely gave thought.

Down the main street, past the signs in English, "To Hell with the Dutch" and "Safeguard Peace and Democracy in Indonesia," you come finally to the palace, once the Dutch Resident's home, where President Sukarno and Premier Amir Sjarifuddin meet visitors.

Sukarno is a quiet spoken man in a black fez, rather tall for an Indo-

nesian, who sways his countrymen with oratory. Sukarno often amazes foreign listeners by interjecting Lincoln phrases into his Indonesian speeches. "Have you found any terrorists yet?" was Sukarno's first remark. Sjarifuddin is a dark, wavy haired Beau Brummel and both a Christian and a Socialist. He led the Indonesian underground against the Japanese during the Pacific War.

Both men whom the Dutch rate high on their scale of extremists, Sukarno and Sjarifuddin each declared that the Republic was ready to reopen negotiations with the Dutch —and ready to compromise even further. But on one point they will not retreat. Dutch troops must withdraw.

"I believe we can still reach a workable agreement with the Dutch," Sjarifuddin told me. "But we no longer trust them. We will want a big power to watch the situation afterwards—to enforce the agreement."

"Which power would you prefer?"

"There's the United States—or perhaps the United Kingdom." He smiled. "After all, who else is there?"

If the Dutch, disregarding the United Nations, reopen a general offensive (at present, as the consular commission reported, they are violating the "cease fire" order in lesser ways), Jogjakarta's population will be told to stay put, the leaders agreed. Guerrilla warfare will be the order of the day. Meanwhile, government bigwigs will disappear into the rice fields. The government must remain intact at all costs, they emphasized.

Not far from the palace stands an expensive, clean civil hospital where the Republic is providing free room and board—plus precious medicine—for a prize exhibit: two wounded Dutch prisoners of war. One of them who polished up his English as an interpreter with the Canadian Army during Holland's liberation declared: "Our officers filled us with lies. They told us the Indonesians were terrorists—murderers. How can they say such things?" The other re-echoed these sentiments.

Later in the evening, I was sitting in the lobby of Hotel Merdeka with a couple of Aussie pilots when we were startled by an explosion. "Terrorists!" shouted one of the pilots. We rushed to the door. A 1935 Buick was just beginning to roll.

Tractors For Communist Areas

William Hinton

NEAR Chihsien, in the Chin-Chi-Lu-Yu Border Region, 10,000 mow of waste land have been plowed this year by UNRRA tractors and are now green with young wheat. The farmers who live in the devastated villages nearby are saying "surely now our luck is turning. Our summer crops failed, but we will get through the winter anyway for our communist government has cancelled all taxes, has given us vegetable seeds for a catch crop, and has helped us to organize home industries. The tractors have come to plow the waste land. The wheat is in and the soil is moist with good rain. Better times are coming."

For 10 years these villages have lived through almost continuous disaster. The big flood of 1937 was followed by lesser floods in 1939 and 1940. Then came drought and locusts. People tore down their houses and sold the wood to pay taxes and buy food. They sold their animals and their tools. They ate the leaves of trees and the seeds of grasses. By 1943, they were lying down in the streets and dying of starvation. In the little village of Hanchiachuang more than 400 rooms were destroyed for firewood. More than 70 able bodied people died of hunger. The old people and children who died were not even counted. Through it all the Japanese continued to demand labor for fortifications and roads, requisitioned grain, and themselves tore down buildings for firewood.

Crops Smothered

Without men, without cattle, and without tools the villagers were unable to keep the land under cultivation. Grass began to grow profusely and once the grass took over it was almost impossible to kill it for the grass had thick roots that spread underground in every direction and pushed up shoots everywhere. For every root that could be killed two more pushed vigorously on and the grass smothered the crops. Then, too, the flood waters brought up salt from below and made large stretches sterile. By 1947, there were hundreds of thousand of mow of waste land in Chihsien alone, while the people scratched out a crop on meagre holdings of from one to four mow per person.

UNRRA Tractors

UNRRA decided to send tractors into North China Communist areas in 1946, but it was April, 1947, before any tractors left Shanghai for the area and it was July before they reached the plowing site in southern Hopei. The ship went first to Yangchiakou, but the crated tractors were too bulky to unload there and had to be taken to Chefoo. There they were uncrated, assembled, reloaded and shipped once more to Yangchiakou. They were then driven overland hundreds of li to Linching in western Shantung. Air activity made daylight travel impossible and supplies had to be dispersed in small villages for protection. Night travel, inexperienced drivers, and the confusion of a long overland haul through a war area resulted in smashed tractors, some supplies left behind, and some tools lost. But the bulk of the shipment finally got through and 23 tractors went north to Chihsien. Plowing began in earnest the second week in August.

Five weeks later 10,000 mow of heavy grass had been turned under by a group of young drivers from every part of the Chin-Chi-Lu-Yu Border Region. The boys had never driven a vehicle or looked at a motor before they came to Chihsien, but they quickly learned to drive, to plow, to harrow, and to make simple field repairs. Their day began at 4.30 in the morning and ended after dusk, but they got up singing in the darkness and sang after sunset. Their diet consisted of millet soup and steamed bread, but they never complained. In the field at noon, they swallowed five huge mantou apiece, drank gallons of hot water and rested only 15 minutes. They plowed like men possessed.

The first result of the plowing was to turn up fuel for all the villages within five miles of the project. The heavy grass roots were for these people what cordwood is for the New England farmer. Women and girls, men and boys swarmed to the plowed land by the hundreds to gather fuel. They spent a few minutes watching the tractors plow and the rest of the day digging among the furrows for roots. In the afternoon they staggered home under huge bundles. The tractor headquarters moved from village to village as the plowing progressed and each day when the work was done the boys hauled back on trailers the roots collected by the people of the village where they were to spend that night. Stacked like huge loads of hay and swarming with clinging, shouting children the trailers rolled home to be welcomed by the whole population. Soon drying roots and root stacks decked the villages far and near.

People Responsible

Besides plows, the tractors brought with them only field cultivators which left the land rough and lumpy. Native spike harrows borrowed from the farmers and drawn in gangs of three did a fair smoothing job, but native planters drawn by tractors proved clumsy and im-

practical. The harrowed land was turned over to the people as it lay. From there on it was up to them.

One group of 14 villages was allotted almost 5,000 mow. On September 25, this huge tract of land lay still and bare under the sun. By the next day at noon every yard of it was planted to wheat and the seed packed in with stone rollers. Every able bodied man, woman and child from the 14 villages came to the field that morning with every cow, mule, planter and roller they possessed. More than 500 animals and 2,000 people came together that day to plant the waste land plowed by the tractors, with seed provided by the government. The dust they raised could be seen for miles. Many hands made the work light and fast. After the first hour or two, when the people saw how much they had accomplished, they realized how strong they were working together. The tempo of the work increased. The cattle quickened their pace. The men shook the seeders more vigorously. The stone rollers danced down the rows and the young boys ran from the seed bags to fill the empty seed boxes. The task which the people had planned to complete in two days was accomplished in four hours.

Labor Hero

Behind this united effort lay the hard work and planning of district and village leaders and of the labor hero Han Da-ming, whose small farm lay close to the plowed land.

This Han Da-ming is worth a book in himself. At the depth of the famine he discovered that the seeds of three common weeds and one grass were edible. Everyone warned him that if he ate them he would swell up, blacken and die. But he ate the seeds to see for himself and instead of dying felt stronger. Then he organized weed and grasses collecting groups which kept many people alive. Later Han led a group of 12 men who reclaimed over 100 mow of grassland in a month with their bare hands. To this day he bears on his neck the mark of yoke of the plow he pulled. His group also collected grass, hauled it to the city for sale as fuel and brought back millet. In their spare time they organized resistance to the invaders. At 43, Han Da-ming is recognized as an outstanding worker in the Border Region. Tall, lean, self-confident, he has the manner and bearing of a great athlete of the western world, yet continues to live in a village so small that a stone can be thrown clear over it, and to work his farm with the bull the government gave him in recognition for outstanding achievement.

People Consulted

When the hsien government brought word that the plowed land was for the use of the local farmers, Han Da-ming helped call together a meeting of all the village leaders in the neighborhood. These men decided to hold mass meetings in each village to find out from the people how the land should best be used. At the mass meetings the people said the land should be divided among the villages according to need, poor villages getting more, rich villages less. They wanted each village to get a fair portion of good and poor land too, and decided that each village would plant and work its land as a whole and divide the crop according to the amount of labor each worker put in. A committee was chosen to survey the land and divide it. The committee members met in the field with pencil and paper, abacus, and measuring rope and laid the lands to the satisfaction of all. When planting time approached seed was brought from the hsien capital. On the evening of September 25, village heads brought out their megaphones and called aloud last minute instructions to the people, told them where to meet, what to bring, and when to start. The next day everything went as planned, only it went more quickly and easily than anyone had expected.

The Border Region governments exempt all reclaimed lands from taxation for five years. Next spring, when the wheat is harvested the whole crop will belong to the people except for the seed which is supposed to be returned to the government. But Han Da-ming has a plan of his own for the seed. He wants the government to leave it with the villages for use on the same land next year. Han's ideas have a way of becoming reality. It would not be surprising if the government saw it his way.

When the crop is in, the grain will be divided among those who helped to grow it. Different villages have adopted different methods of division. In some one-man work day counts as one unit, one cattle day, as two units, and one woman or child as half a unit. In others cattle count no more than men, and children figure at a still different rate. But though the standards vary, no one complains because each village adopted the scale that suited it best in an open meeting attended by all.

Weather Important

The final outcome of the tractor plowing at Chihsien depends on the weather next spring. Good rains in April will bring a good crop on most of the land. One wheat crop and 10,000 mow of reclaimed land cannot but strenghten the people against future droughts and floods.

What becomes of the tractors and their operators depends on the gasoline situation and therein lies the sad twist to this story. On September 13 the tractors ran out of gas. The nationalist blockade of the Grand Canal Route and the UNRRA embargo on relief shipments north of the 34th parallel have brought operations to a standstill. Now tractors and drivers can only sit and wait while the grass grows higher and thicker over thousands of acres.

But the Border Region government anticipated the gas famine, just as they anticipated the grain famine this winter. They have taken steps to ensure continued land reclamation—gas or no gas. Five hundred mow have been set aside for the Land Reclamation Committee which will use the crop to buy cattle and tools for further plowing efforts on the part of the people themselves.

"Our luck is turning," say the Chihsien people.

To an outsider it looks as if luck joins hands with those who help themselves.

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Economic Background For The Marshall Plan---I

Y. F. Soo

(This is the first of three articles wherein an attempt is made to present pertinent economic data—the rock bottom of current political maneuvers and policies. The author lays no claim to comprehensiveness—an all embracing analysis of such economic problems is outside the scope of a magazine article. However, in view of the constant drumming of the idea that the nations in the world arena are acting in the interest of other peoples, and as with the Marshall Plan, for example, every move is supposedly designed to save the world from misery and totalitarianism, it is interesting to know just what goes on behind the facade of fine words about saving the world from all its perils. This can best be explained by presenting economic data—the reader himself can draw the necessary conclusions wherever they have been left out. The first article will deal with the American domestic situation, the second with the problems of Germany, and the third with the struggle of East and West.—Y.F.S.)

ON October 24, President Truman revealed the reasons for calling a special session of Congress. He called for "timely and forthright action" to relieve "hunger and cold abroad" with relief funds, and also added that "high prices at home, and hunger and cold abroad present a challenge to the American people." Inflation must be stopped before it is too late, the Chief Executive declared. He warned that if action were not forthcoming the depression would catch up with the United States, "until our living standards sink and our people tramp the streets looking for jobs." When so many people are not sharing in prosperity, the road is being paved for a recession or depression.... "for high prices ration the essentials of life by squeezing out the less fortunate of our citizens," the President said.

The news agencies, probably because they deal with spot news, fail to explain just why this specter of depression has alarmed President Truman, and why so many people "are not sharing in prosperity." It is important to see just how the American people share American prosperity under the "American way of life."

In their *American Way of Life* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947), Harry Elmer Barnes and Oreen M. Ruedi, prominent economists, describe the extent of poverty in the United States:

"How many people are living in a state of poverty in the United States at the present time? In 1904, Robert Hunter said that 10,000,000 Americans were in dire need. At the time, his estimate was regarded as exaggerated, but later studies showed it to be extremely conservative. In 1919, the National Bureau of Economic Research estimated that 86 percent of all American families earned less than $2,000 a year. This income of $2,000 was regarded by the government as the least on which a family of five could maintain itself in decent and healthful surroundings.

"Many persons believed that the 1920s were a uniquely prosperous period for all, and that good times continued until the crash of 1929. This belief was false. The rich made more money after the first world war, but the poor failed notably to improve their condition. In other words, the national income was not fairly distributed. If the income of families in the US could have been equally divided in 1928, each family of five would have had over $3,750 a year. As it was, 60 percent of all American families had incomes of less than $2,000, receiving only about one-fourth of the national income, while the richest 1.2 percent of our families received about the same proportion of the national income. Even in 1928 and 1929, 70 percent of American families did not have income enough to buy sufficient food to maintain good health, and 90 percent could not buy sufficient food to constitute what the government itself regarded as a desirable diet. In our prosperous years, therefore, the great majority of American families did not have sufficient income to provide a decent standard of living.

"In the years of the depression, the situation grew worse. In 1933, it was estimated that 12,000,000 to 17,000,000 persons were unemployed and 50,000,000 were living in a state of poverty. Studies made in 1935 show an almost incredible increase of poverty over 1929. It would not be inaccurate to say that as late as 1936, two-thirds of American families were living at or below the poverty line, and over 10 percent were in a state of pauperism. Government relief kept many families from actual starvation, but the incomes of tens of millions of Americans were below the poverty level.

"As late as 1942, when the depression had seemingly disappeared, millions of Americans were still living far below a decent standard. Labor Department studies of 33 cities, based on the WPA budget of 1935, brought up to date for December 1941, showed that $29 a week was the minimum income requirement for a worker's family of four. Yet, at that time, the Treasury Department revealed that 3,324,000 workers were earning only from $5 to $10 a week; 4,975,000 from $10 to $15; 10,747,000 from $20 to $30. In other words, millions of families had sufficient income for bare subsistence." (pp 566-567.)

Later studies are not available, but in the light of the foregoing lengthy quotation from a book which describes the American way of life, President Truman's warning about the depression liable to catch up with the United States takes on a totally different meaning from the one ascribed it by business circles. These circles assert that a "recession" will do the US economy a lot of good. They forget that it is tens of millions of American wage earners who suffer from such a "recession."

As a sharp contrast to this unhappy state of affairs with the American wage earner, we have the bright perspective of corporation profits during and after the war. On October 19, *AP* cabled from Washington that "the Commerce Department reported that the corporation's profits picture was even brighter in the first half of this year than at last year's final quarter." *AP* said that profits after taxes were piling up at the rate of US$17,500,000,000 a year for the first quarter of 1947. The Department revealed that "current rates of profits after taxes were much higher in relation to total income than during the war years, when they were held down by the excess profits tax." And it should be added that war profits were the highest in American or world history.

Business Week carried a chart recently which showed how the wage index has been outstripped by the price index in the two years since VJ Day. What the working families had saved in the war years has by now been cut by the inflation, and with the continued rise in prices, buying power is seriously deflated.

Here is what happened to wages since 1944, reckoned on a weekly basis:

Average Weekly Wage In Manufacturing Industry

	1944	1945	1946
	$	$	$
Nominal Pay	46.06	44.39	43.75
Real Pay (1939 prices)	31.98	30.20	27.87

Real wages have been further sliced by the continuing inflation, while profits have soared. The Committee on Economic Stability, formed by the organization "Americans For Democratic Action," revealed that these profits are:

"swollen beyond anything that business health and vitality require, swollen at the expense of mass purchasing power, whereon the continuing prosperity of business and of the remainder of the country must depend."

* * *

AT the same time that huge profits kept piling up, a speedup in the concentration of capital occurred in the United States. Thus, in the manufacturing industry, from 1939 to 1944, firms employing more than 50 persons, a category which accounted for 85 percent of all industrial establishments, although gaining 250,000 workers, suffered a loss of five percent (from 17 to 12 per-

cent) of the total number employed in manufacturing. On the other hand, firms employing more than 500 workers, totaling only 2,000 in number, advanced from 3,800,000 to 5,200,000 employees. At the same time, whereas there were only 49 giant enterprises employing more than 10,000 workers before the war, their number rose to 344 by 1944, and the total number employed in these giants went up from 1,400,000 to 5,100,000, from 13.1 percent to 30.4 percent, or a third of all workers in manufacturing.

When the two large categories—employing more than 500 and more than 10,000 workers—are added together the percentage of the workers they employed will have risen from 48 percent before the war to 62 percent in 1944. This means that of every three American workers, two work in large and giant plants, totaling less than 2,500 in number.

Considering that manufacturing enterprises account for 90 percent of total US output, and that the United States now possesses about two-thirds of all productive facilities in the capitalist world, it will be clear that these 2,500 firms are largely responsible for this share of world production—an example of industrial concentration unparalleled in history!

* * *

THIS concentration of industrial capital must be further illustrated by the interconnection of these large and giant concerns with each other and with financial institutions in order to present a correct picture of their economic might. For it is precisely the integration of industries with the banks that gives rise to a phenomenon known as finance capital—the basis of modern imperialism. Through a continuous process of purchasing of assets, joint directorships, and other means there has arisen in the United States a financial oligarchy whose interests do not coincide with the interests of the American people. President Truman's warning that the approaching depression constitutes a challenge to the American people is exaggerated, because this financial oligarchy, and not the American people has brought about this state of affairs.

Much abuse has been showered on the representatives of this financial oligarchy, but it is still interesting to outline the forms of the economic power they wield, presented in cold figures and without vituperative and invective.

The well known book by Lundberg entitled *America's 60 Families*, very adequately describes just how this small group of people controls the major portion of America's national wealth. Although there is a constant struggle in progress between members of this group—even when they jointly control certain corporations or financial institutions—they present a common front to the outside world.

One of the best examples of how the banks have invaded industry is shown by the history of steel in the United States. US Steel is intimately connected with the banking house of Morgan and the bank's representatives have always sat on its board of directors. All major banks in the United States are connected with one industry or another.

A detailed study of the wealth controlled by this financial group was made in 1939 by G. Means in his "The Structure of the American Economy." Here is how Means lists the main financial groupings, besides the three known as the Chicago, Cleveland and Boston groups:

Assets Controlled by Main Groups in 1935

Morgan	US$30,210,000,000
Kuhn-Loeb	„ 10,900,000,000
Rockefeller	„ 6,600,000,000
Mellon	„ 3,300,000,000
Du Pont	„ 2,600,000,000

As an example of how these assets are distributed in the various spheres of the American economy, the most powerful of them all, the Morgan group will serve well:

Assets Controlled By Morgan Group

Industrial enterprises ...	US$ 3,920,000,000
Railroad companies	„ 9,678,000,000
Banks	„ 4,421,000,000
Public Utilities ..	„ 12,191,000,000
Total	US$30,210,000,000

The foregoing, it should be noted, is based on a study of only 200 giant corporations and 50 banks. It is difficult to say just how far down the economic ladder this control of the Morgan group extends. But while Morgan has concentrated on public utilities, others have preferred railroads or manufacturing enterprises, as the case may be. Thus, of US$10,853,000,000 total assets under Kuhn-Loeb control, US$9,963,000,000 was located in railroad companies, while the Mellon group had of its US$3,332,000,000 worth of assets, almost US$1,650,000,000 in industrial enterprises. But all these groups no matter where their main interest lies, are invariably and eventually connected with banking institutions. Thus, while the Morgan Bank is financial head, the vast empire includes US Steel Corporation, Universal Electric Company, Pullman's, Continental Oil, and eight other industrial giants; it also includes 12 public utility companies, including the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, American Telephone and Telegraph, Niagara Power, American Power & Gas, National Power Company, and others. The banking house of Morgan finances all these giant steel and industrial enterprises. Besides, 11 large railroad corporations adhere to this group, involving 26 percent of all first class American railways.

The Du Pont group, which ranks fifth in the financial oligarchy controls Du Pont de Nemours, the largest American chemical enterprise, and General Motors and the US Rubber Company, which are well known in their respective fields. This arrangement is backed by the National Bank of Detroit.

* * *

IT must be said that additional capital is drawn under control by these groups through the issue of shares, for not all shares give holders the privilege of voting in the business of the companies. Thus, General Motors at one time had issued US$43,500,000 worth of common shares which involved no voting power, and US$1,800,000 worth of five percent preference shares with votes attached. The fact that the main group holds a certain percentage of the shares, while the remainder is scattered throughout the country, permits the former perfect control. (It has been estimated, that 40 percent of total shares is sufficient guaranty of control under such conditions.)

The so-called "democratization of capital" seen in the wider spread of share holdings is in reality nothing but a deeper penetration into the economy and a swelling of assets in the hands of the controlling group which still holds the "control packet."

In some cases, even this 40 percent is unnecessary for control of a given corporation: it is well known that the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the United States Steel Corporation adhere to the Morgan group, yet the share holdings of that group in the first company comprise only 3.8 percent of the total share issue, and 12.4 percent in the second. The fact that American Telephone and Telegraph has 641,000 shareholders explains how 3.8 percent in one place can actually wield control over the entire concern! In other enterprises, a greater control packet is kept—in the Gulf Oil Company, for example, the Mellon group has retained 70 percent of the share issue.

Large concerns, controlled by one group, in turn control several other enterprises which are not necessarily in the same business. Thus, the United Coppers Company, the largest coke producer in the US, in which the Mellon group has 52 percent common and 82 percent preferred shares, in its turn holds 67 percent of shares, in the Virginia Corporation, which in turn held 75 percent of the Virginia Railroad shares, 28 percent of Universal Electric Company shares, and 24 percent of the Brooklyn Gas shares.

* * *

WHILE these financial groups drive to extend their control over capital which is outside their financial oligarchy, there is a constant struggle for economic power between them. The Rockefeller Group which had the largest oil interests at the turn of the century, has been gradually losing some of them. Mellon and Morgan have succeeded in acquiring a certain portion of the oil interests, with the result that Morgan now controls the Continental Oil Company which previously belonged to the Rockefeller Group. Mellon has the Gulf Oil Company which operated in the Mexican Gulf and is in sharp competition not only with "outside" oil concerns, but with its own sister companies. Practically the same activities go on in the steel industry which is dominated by the Morgan Group, for while US Steel, for example is classed in the Morgan category, Rockefeller's has a large

interest in this enterprise besides controlling the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. General Motors of the Du Pont group has ceded a certain portion of its shares to the Morgan group, which has three directors on the company's board.

The banks play no small role in this intricate maze of financial interests. Most of the banks have their own "representatives" on the Boards of the large industrial concerns. Thus, 20 directors of the Chase National Bank hold 166 concurrent directorships in various concerns. They are connected with 37 industrial, 38 financial, 16 railroad and other companies. The chairman of the board of directors of Chase National is also a director of the American Telephone and Telegraph company, a director of Westinghouse, a director of Metropolitan Insurance, and a director of seven other trust, commercial and other companies. This concurrent directorship arrangement is typical for the 19 other directors of Chase National which held first place among American banks in assets and deposits in 1946.

However, Chase National is overshadowed by the total deposits and assets held by Morgan's four banks: Guaranty Trust, First National, New York Trust, and Banker's Trust Company.

This integration of banks with industrial enterprises has added to the concentration of capital, especially during the war years. While there were only three companies with assets over US$1,000,000,000 in 1939, by 1945, there were already eight such giant billionaires, with assets ranging from US$1,000,000,000 upward. Here is how assets grew in the period from 1939 to 1945:

	1939	1945
Standard Oil Of New Jersey	US$2,035,000,000	US$2,532,000,000
US Steel Corporation	„ 1,769,000,000	„ 1,891,000,000
General Motors	„ 1,323,000,000	„ 1,814,000,000
Curtiss Wright	„ ———	„ 1,295,000,000
Du Pont de Nemours Chemical	„ 858,000,000	„ 1,205,000,000
Socony Vacuum	„ 930,000,000	„ 1,076,000,000
Bethlehem Steel	„ 733,000,000	„ 1,045,000,000
Ford Motor Company	„ 692,000,000	„ 1,009,000,000

The table at the upper right shows only the *minimum* growth of the giant concerns, their *maximum* growth being obscured due to lack of data on control of numerous small, middle sized and large corporations.

• • •

THIS growth of wealth and concentration of economic power has given rise to grave problems in the postwar period. The domestic market is limited and purchasing power has declined rapidly due to the inflation. Professor John H. Williams of Harvard University, declared in 1945, that if the United States were to revert to the level of national income prevalent in 1939, unemployment would rise to 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 persons.

The Committee on Economic Stability quoted above declared that:

"The unprecedented level of business investment in new plants and equipment, technological advances made during the war and at present applied to peacetime production, the elimination of most of the shortages which plagued us since the Japanese surrender — all these mean a rapid increase in productive capacity and output per manhour."

This fact has given fears that with the decline in demand at home there will be difficulty in utilizing this productive capacity and manpower. This is one of the reasons why management in the United States would not mind having a "mild recession." But another way out is to increase the export of goods and services to US$25,000,000,000 annually, the figure mentioned by Senator Kilgore in the course of his investigations. This is a high figure when it is remembered that total annual exports of the entire world came to only US$15,300,000,000 in 1937, with the American share at around US$4,600,000,000 (1921-1939 average).

This is a good plan for staving off a depression in the United States, and it has worked for some time, until the dollar shortage gripped the world. By the first half of 1947, US exports reached the unprecedented level of US$15,000,000,000 annually, but began to decline in May and June. According to reports from New York, government experts see this falling off of exports as "the turning point in the export boom." Others believe that the "turning point" may come later this year. However, that may be, it is clear that there is still a long way to go before the suggested US$25,000,000,000 annual export rate is attained, if ever.

Side by side with this growing need for commodity markets, there has been a greater seeking of outlets for accumulated capital investments. Alvin H. Hansen, in his *America's Role In The World Economy*, says that:

"In good years our gross savings.... are around 20 percent of our national income—in other words, at US$140,000,000,000 national income, around US$28,000,000,000. It will not be easy to find satisfactory and profitable...outlets for this vast volume of savings within the territory of the United States."

• • •

IT is only natural that with the economic power the various financial groups enjoy, they should exert a tremendous influence on American foreign policy, and to direct it in such a manner as to discover outlets for investment of their "savings." Today, the need for this investment outlet is greater than ever before, and this in turn must give added vigor to whatever foreign policy is being followed by the United States. This explains the aggressiveness of the foreign policy enunciated in the Truman Doctrine and its continuity in the Marshall Plan.

• • •

OF course, this need for larger and larger exports because of the limited domestic market, and the need for investments abroad of "surplus capital" is purely relative. There is in fact plenty of room for domestic investment and commodity consumption—were it not for the inadequate domestic purchasing power. Where this surplus capital can be invested and where consumers for surplus goods can be found, is disclosed in the figures of American family incomes given at the beginning of this survey (see p. 293). The truth is that the groups in whose hands this surplus capital has accumulated through "swollen profits" do not care to utilize it at home for the benefit of the American people. Utilizing this surplus wealth at home to raise the living standard of the people truly to achieve the "American way of life," would be the sanest solution to the dilemma.

A second best solution for this surplus capital would be to resort to heavy lending abroad. The Twentieth Century Fund Research Institute said on September 28, that "continued foreign lending will produce a balance of payments position which can be settled only by accepting other nation's exports .... An unstable American economy is likely to produce a high default ration for even a well conceived, well integrated American lending program." This is of course, true, but truer still is that this lending should be detached from political conditions.

Sound credit relations would considerably stimulate normal trade between the United States and the rest of the world. However, American foreign policy is currently based on a "struggle against Communism," and leaves the building of such sound credit conditions in the background.

It is significant that all those countries which have joined in drafting the Marshall Plan for Europe are currently going through a series of severe economic crises, in spite of the fact that most of them have already received piecemeal American aid. On the other hand, the so-called Eastern European countries, which have decided to boycott the Marshall Plan are not suffering from any economic disorders. The answer to this mystery is that while the Western countries talk about "self-aid" the Eastern countries are practising it: they have effected a vigorous nationalization program, a thorough land reform and other measures, designed to draw the common man into the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the home economy.

Observers of political events in Europe will not fail to note how every country involved with the Marshall Plan has suffered a split in its domestic politics, a sharp differentiation of forces to right and left. The reason for this is that the Marshall Plan, while purporting to be merely an economic program—if any—is actually based on politics, a desire to preserve the status quo, and bring back to power regimes which had already discredited themselves before the war. In this situation,

no kind of reconstruction can go on, even if billions of dollars are poured into the economy, because the people are not solidly behind the government.

The best example of this is France, where the forces are split roughly on a 3:3:3 ratio. The present government is non-representative to the extreme, but this is the regime that is being backed by the United States. How can dollars under the Marshall Plan—if any—help in France's reconstruction?

The political nature of American lending policy today is best illustrated by the refusal to extend loans to Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, and, of course, the USSR. If political strings were not attached, these countries would prove to be America's best customers, for they are sorely in need of all the commodities the US can produce. In the case of the USSR, a large loan was at first advocated by certain sections of business. But when politics got the better of sound business practices this proposal was quashed, with the result that the US is missing profits on sales of huge volume. This will continue so long as policy makers in the United States refuse to take cognizance of permanent changes in the economic and political structures of many countries and will insist of bolstering American type capitalism throughout the world. Trends towards socialism are too strong to be defeated with the Marshall Plan which has dollars as its sole weapon. In the meantime, the persistent need for capital investment, for utilization of huge profits remains the Number One US problem. This can be solved only through the extension of non-political loans to all countries requiring such. That the time is nigh when a decision will have to be made one way or another is indicated by President Truman's appeal for action against the coming crisis.

China's Shipping In Dire Plight

LAI PING

THE importance of merchant shipping in a country's economy cannot be denied, and it is well known that the tonnages of its merchant marine is an index of the rise or fall of the power of a nation. In spite of its tremendous importance China's shipping potential, like her other branches of industry and commerce, is now in desperate straits.

The sad story began long before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, and the situation has steadily deteriorated since the conclusion of the war. China's shipping made an outstanding contribution to the war effort as almost all private shipping was commandeered by the Government for transporting troops and war supplies. A large portion of her merchant ships were sunk at Kiangying, Matang and Ningpo to block the enemy's passage, while others were either bombed or seized by the enemy.

90 Percent Loss

According to statistics compiled by the China Private Shipping Association, 203 private ships and a total tonnage of 296,330 were lost in the course of the war. This loss represented more than 90 percent of China's private shipping. As these ships were commandeered by the Government, the latter should naturally be held responsible for the payment of compensation.

After two years of petitioning, the Chinese Government finally agreed to order 120,000 tons of shipping from the United States at a cost of US$10,160,000 to be distributed to private shipowners. Of this sum, the Government promised to pay US$3,600,000 as compensation and the balance of US$6,560,000 was to be considered as a government loan to be paid back by the private shipowners over a period of 10 years.

In September, the Executive Yuan ordered the Bank of China to remit the necessary funds to New York, where two representatives of the Chinese Ministry of Communications were negotiating with American shipyards. This money was specifically earmarked for the purchase of 120,000 tons of shipping for private Chinese shipping companies.

It happened that the Government-owned China Merchants' Steamship Navigation Company had also placed orders for 15 ships with American shipyards, but as the company's foreign exchange at that time was sufficient to pay for only six vessels, it lacked the funds to pay for the remaining nine vessels. Learning that the Executive Yuan had ordered the Bank of China to remit funds to New York, the SMSNC petitioned the Ministry of Communications for a loan. At the time of writing, the matter is still not cleared up and it remains to be seen whether the private shipping companies will receive their ships.

Old Ships Repaired

After VJ Day, the private shipping companies did their best to resume business by repairing old ships, taking over some enemy shipping and buying new vessels from the United States and Great Britain.

For the past two years, the merchant marine has been mainly occupied with the following tasks: (a) Transporting Government troops and war supplies; (b) Repatriating Japanese prisoners of war; (c) Transporting relief supplies; (d) Participating in "demobilization and reconversion." Only a very small portion has been available for ordinary passenger and freight service.

At one time the demand on private shipping was so great that there were no vessels available for transporting relief and rehabilitation materials. Taking advantage of this situation, CNRRA chartered 35 vessels from the British-owned China Navigation Company to transport relief supplies along China's coast and inland rivers. This was the first postwar encroachment on China's sovereignty.

Violent Protests

Another episode was the opening of four ports along the Yangtze River, namely, Nanking, Wuhu, Kiukiang and Hankow, to foreign shipping carrying relief supplies. Thanks to the violent protests by Chinese shipping circles, the number of ports was cut down to two, Nanking and Hankow. The only reason foreign shipping was used to transport relief supplies in Chinese waters was because the moving of government troops made it impossible for private shipping to take on this task.

Now, over two years after the surrender of Japan, China's shipping situation shows no signs of improvement. It is interesting to examine conditions prevailing on the lines which are in operation, however.

The Shanghai-Taiwan Line.

As Taiwan has become a new army training center, the heaviest shipping has involved troops and war supplies. The China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company, the Taiwan Shipping Company, the Chung Hsin Shipping Company, the Chung Lien Navigation Company and the Yih Hsiang Navigation Company have ships plying along this route. At present, only one ship, the s.s. Chung Hsin belonging to the Chung Hsin Company, is running a regular passenger and freight service, with army personnel constituting the majority of its passengers. The other companies' vessels have all been commandeered for military service.

The worst sufferer has been the Taiwan Shipping Company, while the Government operated CMSNC has not fared much better. Taiwan sugar, salt and coal are piled mountain high on the wharves awaiting shipment to Shanghai, while agricultural implements, seeds and fertilizers are rotting and rusting on Shanghai wharves.

The Yangtze Line.

This line extends from Chungking to Shanghai with ports at Ichang, Hankow, Kiukiang, Anking, Wuhu and Nanking. The Chungking-Ichang-Hankow section of this line is operated by small vessels of Szechuen shipping companies, of which the largest is the Min Sin Navigation Company, but most of this Com-

pany's ships have been commandeered for military service. In spite of the fact that there are many vessels running between Hankow and Shanghai these days, the trip is still difficult and uncomfortable. Many times private ships have been detained and commandeered at Hankow, Kiukiang, Wuhu or Nanking for troop carrying, the civilian passengers and baggage being dropped and stranded.

Travelling at present is always unpredictable and one can never be certain of reaching one's destination. One may be forced to disembark midway as a result of the ship being taken over for military service, and simply told to wait for the next boat, and often it is impossible to find out just when that will be.

The Northern Kiangsu Line.

The fighting in northern Kiangsu has never been interrupted. The vessels of the Ta Ta Navigation Company and the Ta Tung Shipping Company are often commandeered to carry troops to the front and move wounded soldiers to the rear.

As the fees paid by the Government for military service are mere pittances and far less than the operating cost of the various navigation companies, China's shipping business is probably on the highway to complete ruin unless some drastic changes take place immediately.

Higher Education Low In Northwest

LU JINSENG

A large percentage of Chinese colleges and universities are concentrated in the major cities of East China such as Nanking, Peiping, Shanghai, Tientsin, Hangchow, Canton and Foochow, while in the entire Northwest there are very few institutes of higher learning. Of all the provinces in the Northwest only Shansi, Shensi, Kansu and Sinkiang can boast of a college or university.

In Kansu there is the National Lanchow University, the National College of Veterinary Art, the National Northwestern Normal College and the National Northwestern Agricultural Polytechnic School. In Sinkiang we have the Sinkiang Institute now in the process of being reorganized into the Tienshan University. In Shansi there is the Provincial Shansi University, in Shensi, in Shensi the National Northwestern University, the National Northwestern College of Agriculture, the National Northwestern College of Engineering, the National Northwestern College of Medicine, the Provincial Sian Commercial School and the Provincial Sian Normal School. These are the better known institutes of higher learning in Northwest China.

Many Problems

The problems encountered by the administrative officers in these universities and colleges can be grouped in three categories: (1) The shortage of professors, (2) the lack of essential textbooks, reference books and experimental apparati, and (3) the seeming neglect of Northwest educational institutions by the Ministry of Education.

The first two problems are obvious enough as the Northwest is more or less an isolated region of China far from the maritime ports and the capital. Most intellectuals are reluctant to go inland where there is a scarcity of new books or entertainment of any kind. During the war the Northwest was regarded as a paradise where there was little danger of bombardment by planes and little inflation, but now the situation has changed somewhat. With the end of the war the majority of professors departed for the east heeding the call of personal ambition. Consequently, some departments in more than one college remain a frame propped up by a handful of instructors and textbooks.

The third problem is backed by factual evidence. There is the National Northwestern College of Agriculture as an example. It is composed of nine departments, two divisions one research institute for postgraduate work and one junior college of agricultural economics. In June of this year the students went on strike and threatened to go to Nanking en bloc and present a petition. The reason for this action was an order from the Ministry of Education to the college authorities requesting the discontinuance of the Department of Agricultural Mechanics (the only one of its kind in the country), the Department of Agricultural Manufacturing (also the only one of its kind in the country) the Division of Veterinary Art (which has a history of 10 years) and the dependent Junior College of Agricultural Economics.

Urgent Meeting

When the order was received public sentiment was aroused. The Student Council at once called an urgent meeting, a School Protection Committee was organized and it was resolved that unless the Ministry of Education revoked the order the strike would continue and, if necessary, the students would go to Nanking.

A reply finally came from Nanking in the form of a telegram announcing that (1) the Departments of Agricultural Mechanics and Agritural Manufacturing and the Division of Veterinary Art should continue as before, (2) The fate of the dependent Junior College of Agricultural Economics would be considered by the Ministry at a later date as no new students were then being received. Immediately upon the receipt of the Ministry's reply, the strike was called off.

With the end of the summer vacation the Ministry of Education began its old tune. An order has been issued to the college authorities closing the two Departments, the Division and the dependent Junior College from the very next semester. One cannot help wondering about the cause of this capriciousness and why, while new departments and even new faculties are being added to the universities at Peiping and other cities, the two departments, division and junior college should be closed. It is entirely incomprehensible and mysterious.

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A DOCTOR'S APPEAL

AMOS WONG

THE city of Shanghai has been returned to Chinese hands and we Chinese are very proud as well as pleased. Under the difficulties that exist today the administration of the city has made as much progress as can reasonably be expected. Our Mayor K. C. Wu, and various commissioners of public works and utilities are trying their best to improve this city of Shanghai. Although there is much left to be desired, they should be congratulated.

As a medical doctor, I wish to call the attention of the authorities to the fact that the medical profession today is going through a very difficult period. The medical doctors of China are suffering a great deal of injustice. There have been cases where patients have died in spite of every effort on the part of the doctors to save them, and as a result the doctors as well as their co-workers have been arrested and imprisoned. Should any member of the patient's family complain to the police, the police will immediately send for the doctor and detain and charge him with professional negligence as a matter of routine. Then the doctor is sent to the procurator for further questioning which may drag on for weeks and months. Eventually the case comes to court for judgement. By this time the doctor is usually so harassed and distraught that he has temporarily to give up his practice of medicine or surgery, and thus he makes no living, while at the same time his expenses, which may include payment of 'squeeze' besides lawyers' fees, increase. This is not to mention his mental and physical suffering.

Cases Cited

The following cases are examples of the risks that a doctor has to take and the difficulties he has to contend with when practising medicine in China today.

1) X was admitted to the Shanghai Public Maternity and Children's Hospital and delivered a normal child at 9:00 a.m. The same afternoon she started to bleed because owing to her poor condition the patient's uterus failed to contract properly. This bleeding was checked by injection. Six days later she bled again and again the bleeding was checked. On the eighth day she insisted, against the advice of the attending doctor, upon getting up and returning to her home. As a result of her exertions she began to bleed again. Injections this time failed to check the bleeding and she was subjected to uterine packing. Her husband was told that if this packing failed to check the flow of blood an operation would be necessary to remove her uterus. However, the patient died after the packing.

The patient's husband reported to his uncle, who was formerly employed by SMP as a detective, that the doctor had operated upon the patient without his consent and had killed the patient. This was contrary to the true facts for there had been no operation performed. The uncle came a few hours later with the patient's husband and asked for CNC$2,000,000 to settle the matter. This request was of course refused. The same evening three doctors from the hospital and one midwife were summoned to Gordon Road Police Station for questioning which lasted throughout the night. The following afternoon the doctor, who had attended the case in question, and his assistant were locked in a cell for several hours, together with beggars and criminals, and were released on bail only after Commissioner Yu had intervened.

Not Guilty

These three doctors were not able to return to the hospital, and for six months they suffered mental agony and depression. Eventually the case was turned over to court and the verdict was passed—Not Guilty. This case gives but one example of the kind of treatment to which medical practitioners in China are subjected. Not only did the doctors concerned suffer months of nervous strain and considerable financial loss only to be acquitted eventually, but numerous other people also suffered because it was not possible to admit more patients to the hospital for almost a month, until other doctors could be found to take the place of those who were being accused.

Another case will further illustrate this point.

2) A patient suffering from acute appendicites with general peritonites was admitted into the Central Hospital, Nanking. It was necessary that an immediate operation should be performed in order to drain out the pus which had accumulated in the abdominal cavity. Spinal anesthesia was used and the operation was performed, but the patient died. As a result the doctor was charged with medical negligence resulting in the death of the patient, and was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.

High Mortality

For the benefit of readers it should perhaps be explained that in any case of acute appendicitis with complicating peritionitis if nothing is done the mortality rate is 95 percent if not 100 percent. In the case in question, the attending surgeon made an attempt to save the life of a dying patient and failed and consequently went to jail for a year and a half. Such complete lack of understanding of the difficulties that beset the medical man makes practising doctors in China very nervous. Naturally they hesitate to act when faced with a serious case. The public is bound to suffer in the long run because not only will a greater number of patients die as a result of this fear on the part of the doctors to take action, but medical science will fail to progress.

These two cases have shown how doctors have suffered for trying to save the lives of their patients. Two further cases are now given to illustrate the manner in which doctors in China can be caught on the horns of a dilemma.

3) Mrs. S., one morning, started to bleed profusely and fainted. When she regained consciousness she instructed her maid to send her immediately to Husi Nursing Home. She was found to have ruptured ectopic pregnancy with massive abdominal bleeding, and to save her life it was necessary to perform an immediate operation and blood transfusion. However, her husband could not be located. The patient was herself a graduate doctor and realised the seriousness of her case. She knew that if the operation should be delayed she would die. She demanded the operation to save her life. The operation was performed and the patient recovered.

Pregnancy Complicated

4) Mrs. H. was admitted to the Shanghai Union Hospital with pregnancy at term complicated with high blood pressure and edma of legs and other signs of toxemia of pregnancy. At 11:30 she started to bleed profusely from the vagina. This bleeding was caused by placenta previa centralis. She became very pale and restless and within 20 minutes had practically no radical pulse. She complained that her extremities had become numb and that she felt faint. The treatment for this type of case is an immediate Caesarean Section and blood plasma transfusion. The patient's husband was not in the hospital and could not be reached by 'phone, but even so the Caesarean Section was done and the blood plasma transfusion given. The patient was saved and the child was delivered alive.

In these last two cases the attending doctor was placed in a very difficult position. If, alarmed by the treatment meted out to his colleagues, he had refused to operate without the consent of the patient's husband and the patient had died, he could have been charged with and found guilty of "professional negligence." If, on the other hand, he had operated and the operation had been unsuccessful he could be charged with performing a surgical operation without proper authorization. Fortunately, in the two cases cited, God was on the doctor's side

SKETCHES OF SAIGON

PETER J. ZUNG

Saigon, (By Mail).

MOVING slowly up the lower Saigon River channel to the largest French port and stronghold in southern Indo-China, our ship spent four hours maneuvering sharp bends in this seemingly peaceful area. Finally, alongside a well managed and heavily garrisoned wharf flanked by tropical trees through which the last rays of the setting sun filtered, we berthed.

Although well protected now, this wharf was the center of heavy fighting only a couple of days ago, the result of a night raid by a band of guerillas. Having been warned not to go ashore after 7:00 p.m., we passengers merely leaned over the newly painted railings and idly watched the activities on the wharf, the crowds of enlisted men and piles of ammunition stored in the open.

Cafes and tea houses in the vicinity of the wharfs attract only seaweary sailors and a few inhabitants. There, the homesick "volunteers" drink themselves into semi-unconsciousness, the while embracing Annamite girls.

Saigonese have interesting stories to tell about these alien "volunteers." The French soldiers who were originally dispatched to Indo-China to quench the revolts were sooner or later wounded, killed or replaced. Those who were wounded were the least fortunate for they were returned to France, only to be met with scorn by their fellow countrymen and taunts of "Glory to you, son of France, who fought for imperialistic aims." Soon, able bodied republicans rebelled against being drafted into the expeditionary forces. The will of the people actually does mean something in France.

But substitutes had to be found. In France, there were still many POWs, camp inmates, alien wanderers and others who wanted to be fed and wanted to be free. They found they would be both provided they "volunarily" formed themselves into combat units to fight the Vietnamese. Another incentive was the "right" they were given to loot and rape, although such consent may not have been given in so many words. Today there are many such on the peninsula, more than enough to harden the Annamites' will to resist and establish their own government.

In face of highhanded imperialistic measures, revolutionary Annamites are finding it very hard to continue their fight. Not only must they stand frequent aerial bombardments, frontal attacks, "mopping up" campaigns and spasmodic gun fire from batteries based in French controlled cities or strongholds, but the economic stranglehold and repressive, vengeful and exploitative techniques of the French.

Beside our ocean liner, walking skeletons waited for hours to lift the ladder. Undernourished Annamites—men, women and children—wrap their heads in clumsy towels, while sweat pours down their bodies, and tightly grasp the disproportionately heavy ex-Japanese army wagons which they can hardly handle even when unloaded. This and similar labors must the Annamites of Saigon perform to earn enough piastres to buy rice—and in Saigon rice is one-tenth the price it is in Shanghai.

Will the Vietnamese yield, or will the present French government order the complete withdrawal of non-Annamite combatants from the peninsula. We must not forget that the war-tempered will of all oppressed nations in the Orient is acutely sensitive today. The days of unlimited endurance have gone forever.

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side and the lives of both patients were saved by the operation.

The public may well ask themselves whether practising medical doctors in China today are receiving fair or unfair treatment. Are the authorities concerned justified in placing them in such a predicament? Should highly qualified doctors be confined behind bars for 18 months for making an effort to save the life of a dying man?

I am truly worried about the welfare of the public and of the medical profession in China.

Two of the most important obstacles to the present negotiations between China and Britain for the conclusion of a commercial treaty, are said by authoritative sources to be: (1) The British Government's insistence on retaining special shipping privileges in China's inland waters and (2) The British authorities' desire to retain certain privileges enjoyed by them in the former International Settlement of Shanghai, the *Ta Wan Pao* said.

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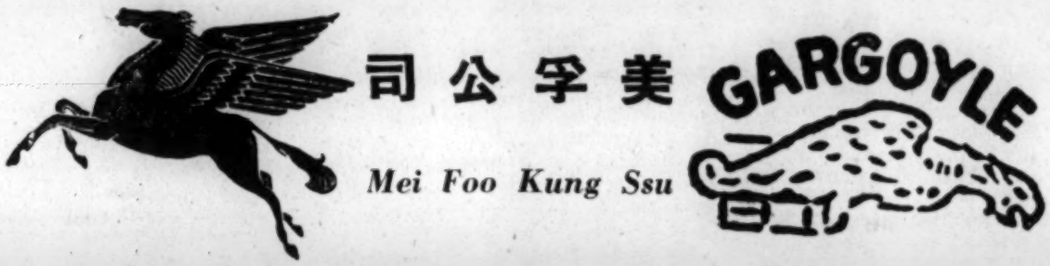

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The Review's English Lesson—III

Everyday Expressions And Usages

THE following two paragraphs contain a number of expressions used in political life. Most of these expressions are not academic terms, but rather, are used by people in ordinary, everyday talk. How well do you understand both the whole text and the boldface expressions before checking the explanations given at the end?

Right in the Pink (15)

(from **TIME**, 2 June, 1947, p. 18)

"On any night last week at half a dozen or more busy street corners in London, a passer-by could stop and hear an old-fashioned **soapbox speech** (1) on politics. It was a new fashion of the Conservatives, who suddenly seemed to be under the influence of a big dose of triple-strength **Benzedrine** (2). They **got a lift** (3) from a **Gallup poll** (4). It showed a **Tory** (5) gain and a **Labor** (6) loss in public popularity in the last year; they were now **neck and neck** (7), and if an election were held this week **it might be either's neck** (8). Moreover, the street meetings seemed to be going well. Tories **ran into** (9) good-natured **heckling** (10), but the bitterness many a Conservative candidate experienced in the election campaigns two years ago was missing.

"Besides pounding the working people with Tory ideas, the **catch-as-catch-can** (11) **corner speeches** (12) had another aim: to teach young Tory **hopefuls** (13) how **to speak the workingman's language** (14). Speaking Labor's language had become an approved major principle of Tory doctrine...."

---

1. "a public speech, generally an expression of personal views, made in any open place." There is a tradition in many of the Western democracies that a person can speak his opinions on any subject—except treason or violent overthrow of the Government—in public. Since such speakers often stand on a little wooden box in order to be better seen, they are called "soapbox speakers", because soap is generally packed in a small wooden box. London's Hyde Park, and in New York, Columbus Circle and Union Square, are famous for soapbox speakers.

2. the name of a stimulating drug used widely in World War II to keep men awake for long periods of nerve strain, as on long air flights.

3. "were encouraged," i.e., their spirits were lifted or raised.

4. "a system of sampling public opinion on current questions" named after the inventor, Dr. George H. Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion.

5. "the British Conservative Party" of whom leading members today are Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden. This Party is now out of power, but trying hard to get back in.

6. "the British Labor Party" whose leading members are Clement Attlee and Ernest Bevin. In 1945 the Labor Party was elected by the people to head the Government.

7. "about even in the race or contest." This expression comes from horse racing when two horses are running together at the same speed, and it is widely used for any kind of close contest.

8. "either side might lose." This expression is mild slang for "it might cost either's neck (or head)." These two uses of "neck" (7 and 8) are placed together as a play on figures of speech.

9. "met" or "encountered the obstacle of."

10. "interruptions in the form of criticism, argument, questions, jeering remarks, jokes, etc., from the crowd." (See 1 above.) While the soapbox speaker can say what he likes to the public, his listeners also have the right to speak back to him in any way that they wish. The democratic tradition thus provides for "give and take."

11. "informal, without rules, and so almost by chance." This expression comes from an early type of wrestling in the West when men competed against each other without having to obey any rules either in matching men of equal size and ability or in the actual wrestling conduct.

12. "speeches made while the speaker stands on a street corner."

13. "young people who are full of hope."

14. "to speak the language that the workingman will understand and will pay attention to," or, "to convince the workingman."

15. (This is a complex play on words and a mixture of meanings.) Generally, this full expression means "in good physical condition," or literally, "in such vigorous good health that one's skin is glowing and pink." However, as a political expression, "Right" refers to the Conservative or Tory Party, and "in the pink" means "slighty Left or radical" because "pink" is a light shade of red. Thus, the title cleverly tells us that the Tories, being active and healthy, are now challenging the Labor Party (which is more to the Left) by using some of Labor's methods in political work.

"CAPITALIST GRAVEYARD"

What U.S. Papers Say . . .

NONINTERVENTION in China's war was advised by the *Washington Post*, *PM* wrote on US-USSR relations, and Japan was the subject of a *New York Herald Tribune* editorial.

* * *

China

WITH reference to the delayed publication of the Wedemeyer report, the *Washington Post* said that it hoped Secretary of State George C. Marshall "will reaffirm nonintervention" in the Chinese Civil War and "emphasize the nonintervention by withdrawing the military mission in Nanking."

The *Post* asserted that non-publication of the report "will simply increase the urgings of persons who are either lukewarm about the Marshall aid to Western Europe or see the United States show up Chiang Kai-shek. They seem to think that Wedemeyer recommends a plan of pro-Chiang action. We hope they are misinformed. But if they truly reflect the Wedemeyer recommendations, the subject should be clarified by Marshall. Nothing has occurred in China since the Marshall Statement of January 7 to warrant any shift from the hands-off policy then enunciated. It was probably foolish to send Wedemeyer to China anyway.

"Neither peace nor unity can be enforced on China, and certainly Chiang Kai-shek cannot be pushed down the throats of the Chinese people who are calling plague on both the Communist and Nationalist houses."

* * *

US-USSR Relations

DISCUSSING the recent series of clashes between Marshall and Vishinsky *PM*, well known liberal New York newspaper, said several things are clear, certainly, to the innocent bystanders of the smaller powers. One is that the US and the USSR, the two great powers emerging from the war, have utterly failed to reach that agreement on which the future and fate of the UN and of mankind, depends. Another is that both these great powers are disinclined to accept the general verdict and decision of the UN, except where they are sure that this verdict will be satisfactory to themselves. The USSR and its satellites, feeling themselves in the minority, have used the veto to the utmost to evade majority decisions.

"The US, on the other hand, has either ignored UN decisions it disliked—as in the case of the Assembly's unanimous resolution of December, 1946, for universal disarmament—or bypassed the UN altogether. This is notably true in the case of food, where the US did not propose to give up a major political weapon by subordinating itself to international decision. It is also true of the Marshall Plan, and of the Truman doctrine."

With regard to Vishinsky's accusation that warmongerers are at work in the US, the paper said "No casual reader of the American press and no one who knows the spirit of official Washington today can deny that far too many persons inside and outside the Government are deliberately whipping up public opinion in order to prepare for war—even in some circles an undeclared preventive war—against the USSR.

"In our opinion, the Russians have a real case for formal protest when the war psychosis is pumped up, not by the privately controlled press, or by members of Congress, but by officials of the American Government. The recent speech of Secretary of Commerce Harriman at Seattle, with its incitation to war with Russia, is a case in point. And so is Vishinsky's complaint about John Foster Dulles, who is a member of the American delegation to the UN....(and whose) connections and record, his public speeches and even more so his private talks, stir the deepest misgivings.

We believe the removal of men like Dulles from official position, a curb of self restraint on members of the Cabinet and a greater willingness on the part of America to forego unilateral action for international cooperation, particularly in the food problem, would both ease tension with the USSR and strengthen our own moral position in those cases—and we have no doubt their number is ample—in which the USSR is at fault," concluded *PM*.

* * *

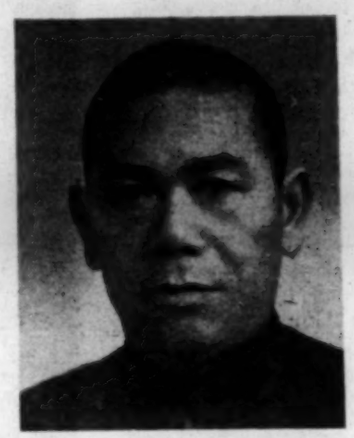
Japan

THE *New York Herald Tribune* said that certain Japanese capitalists and industrialists and possibly government officials are doing their utmost to slow down reconstruction in Japan, hoping to obtain a soft peace and avoid giving much in reparations. "For this reason it is advisable for them to make their country appear as weak and as hungry as they can. They are not representative of the majority of the population....They are for the most part men of the type who ruled Japan before the war. They want to re create the old Japan, just as German capitalists and industrialists wanted to recreate the old Germany after World War I. They are dangerous men.

"This dispatch (containing the news) is encouraging because it indicates that General MacArthur's headquarters is concerned about what is happening....This gives hope that the United States will remember the record of Germany after 1918 and will support provisions in the peace treaty with Japan for close supervision of the country for a long period of years. Such supervision is advisable," said the *Tribune*.

Who's Who in China

LIEUT. GEN. TSENG KUANG CHIN, member of the Central Executive Committee of Kuomintang and director of Party Affairs in Szechuen, Sikang; born in Weiyuan, Szechuen, 1896; graduated



Lt.-Gen. Tseng Kuang-ching

（曾擴情）

from Chao Yang University in Peiping and the Whampoa Military Academy in Canton, 1924; Kuomintang representative to the Headquarters of the Independent 13th Division of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army, 1927; secretary of the Military Department of Kuomintang Central Headquarters, 1927; director of the political department, Central Military Academy in Nanking, 1928; director, Military Affairs in Szechuen, 1928; secretary of the Constitution Department, Kuomintang Central Headquarters, 1929; director of Party Affairs, Szechuen Provincial Party Headquarters, 1932; special commissioner of Party Affairs attached to the Peiping Branch, Military Affairs Commission, 1934; director of Party affairs, Bandit Suppression Headquarters, Northwest China, 1935; councillor of the Political Department, Military Affairs Commission, 1941; director of the Political Department, Central Military Academy, 1945; director of the Political Deptartment Generalissimo's Headquarters, Chungking, 1946; secretary-general of the same headquarters, Chungking; address: Generalissimo's Headquarters, Chungking, Szechuen.

The 24 match manufacturing factories now operating in Shanghai can produce some 20,587 cases a month, if they are supplied with raw materials up to the value of US$100,000, reported UCIB. A recommendation has been made to the Ministry of Economic Affairs for an increase in the import quota to be allotted to the match industry and there is a likelihood the match manufacturers may be authorized to import raw materials to the full extent of their requirements.

* * *

Following the custom practiced by high Chinese Government officials of going away in order to "escape the celebration" of their birthdays, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his wife flew to Kuling recently in order to avoid receiving congratulations on his 61st birthday which occurs on October 31. It is understood the Generalissimo chose Kuling because of its inaccessibility to congratulators.

*

What Chinese Papers Say

THE forthcoming General Elections and problems concerning them was the subject of many editorials last week. Also discussed were Japanese Reparations and the Government's Foreign Exchange Policy.

* * *

General Elections

CONSIDERABLE comment on the procedure to be followed in the coming General Elections was voiced during the week. The *Chung Hwa Shih Pao*, local Young China Party organ, recalled that the selection of members of political parties other than the Kuomintang to participate in the provincial, municipal and hsien council was discussed last spring when the three parties conferred on ways to broaden the basis of the Government, and it was decided upon immediately following the reorganization of the National Government. "One agreement reached by the three parties then was that in participating in the Government, so that they could share with the Kuomintang the governing responsibility for the period of transition from one-party political tutelage to constitutional government, the Young China and Democratic Socialist Parties should participate in both the Central and local governments in both administrative and public opinion organs.

"Some people have said that it would be undemocratic to select members of the two parties. In reply, Mr. Carson Chang, leader of the Democratic Socialist Party, has declared that it is democratic. Why? Because the essence of a democratic political system is that elements of all social strata and all political parties in the country should be given an opportunity to participate in the Government on an equal footing—the more equal, the more democratic and the less equal, the less democratic. At this time when one party political tutelage is in the process of being changed to constitutional government, it is certainly better for all three political parties than for one party alone to participate in the provincial, municipal and hsien councils in the country."

Agreeing that the naming of candidates for election by political parties does not run counter to the principles of democratic government, the *Lih Pao*, General Labor Union organ, said there are two problems: "(1) The Kuomintang, which is the largest political party in the country and which has been leading the Revolution and national reconstruction, is not well organized and is composed of various elements. The Kuomintang doctrine is only nominal and the Kuomintang cannot exercise overall control over actual government administration. Its basic constituent elements are even more problematical. Not only have the feudal forces composed of the unscrupulous community leaders not been eliminated, but they now live with the various existing political and social organizations. If the phenomenon mentioned above is not corrected, there will be a great deal of trouble in the future.

"(2) The Democratic Socialist Party has only a brief history and so does not have a large membership. As for the Young China Party, although it has a history of more than a decade, yet it does not fulfil the requirements of a sound political party either. In suddenly demanding that they be allowed to name several hundred candidates for National Assembly delegates and members of the Legislative and Control Yuans, these two parties have acted rather rashly. The opportunist elements are now very active in getting themselves named as candidates. Moreover, how the Kuomintang, as the largest political party in the country, can help the candidates named by the Democratic Socialist and Young China Parties to get elected is not only a technical problem, but has also raised the question as to whether this is in harmony with the principles of democracy.

"Even with regard to the naming of candidates by the Kuomintang itself, there are also several points to which attention must be paid and which must be remedied. The Kuomintang candidates are first decided upon by the provincial election committees and then finally selected by the Central Kuomintang Headquarters. Now, the lists of candidates submitted by the provincial election committees are unreasonable and unjust in many respects. Under these circumstances, how can you make people satisfied?

* * *

Reparations

GREAT interest has been evinced in various quarters in China over the disposal of the emergency reparations, the preliminary drawing for which was held in Tokyo, said the *Ta Kung Pao*. "As the term implies, these materials are designed to compensate for losses sustained. Naturally, those factories which sustained losses during the war should be given priority in the purchase of same.

"These Japanese reparations materials must be handled well. In principle, ways and means should be devised to make these materials helpful to the present economic life of the people as well as the nation's industrial foundation. After the materials have been shipped to China they should all be used to increase production. In order to achieve this objective, the materials must first be allotted in a satisfactory manner, so that the industrial equipment will fall into the hands of those who are really able to produce, and the Government should set a time limit within which the factories receiving such equipment must start operations and should see to it that they make a serious effort to produce. At the same time, industrial circles should also stir themselves up to exertion and seek to make the greatest possible contribution to the industrial development of China," declared the *Ta Kung Pao*.

* * *

Foreign Exchange

DURING this relatively peaceful period after the recent commodity price and black market exchange rate fluctuations, some measures to improve the situation should be sought, said the *Chin Yung Jih Pao*. "There are three problems regarding the present exchange control measures which are worthy of discussion: (1) The problem of the open market exchange rate....Since the open market exchange rate was first made public, it has risen by about 45 percent, but during this same period the black market exchange rate has risen by 100 percent, which means that the difference between the two rates is becoming bigger.... and the crises mentioned above is becoming more and more serious.

"(2) The problem of the black market exchange rate. It is impossible to eliminate the foreign exchange black market. In regard to the measures for the Government's purchase of the goods imported with privately owned foreign exchange, it is evident that the importers are unwilling to accept the Government's plan of paying for these goods over a period of three years, and it is expected that most of the goods will be transhipped to Hongkong, whence they will be smuggled back to China. The goods will still be imported into China, but there will be an additional charge for the freight, loading and unloading, storage and commission. However, these charges will also have to be paid in foreign exchange. Therefore, the black market exchange problem will become even more serious from now on.

"(3) The problem of the official exchange rate. It seems to us that the official exchange rate can be abolished now so that a lot of unnecessary disputes can be avoided in the foreign exchange market. The authorities could then devote their attention entirely to controlling the black market by making good use of the open market rate. On the one hand, they should absorb as much foreign exchange from the black market as possible, and on the other hand, they should strictly prevent smuggling, so that the scope of supply and demand in the black market can be reduced. Even though this will not eliminate the black market, yet its operations can be gradually reduced."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Valuable Guide

DMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH: THE MAN AND HIS WORK *by Ivan Martynov. Translated from the Russian by T. Guralsky. New York, Philosophical Library,* 1947. 197 *pages.* US$3.75. *Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

FOR most non-Russians, the Russian composer Shostakovich burst upon the musical horizon with the rendition of his Seventh Symphony in New York under Arturo Toscanini in July 1942. Written during the siege of Leningrad, when the author was on duty as a roof watcher, this symphony reached the outside world no less dramatically. The score was recorded on microfilm, flown to Teheran, taken by car to Cairo and then flown to the United States.

The symphony had its premiere in the United States at a moment when the world was deeply moved by the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against the German offensive. The response was emotional as well as artistic and intellectual. The biographer recognizes the Seventh Symphony as a document "born of the storm," but is equally concerned that the Seventh Symphony be judged on its merits as a work of art.

Shostakovich's own commentary shows that he conceives the work to be an embodiment of the world tragedy of war. His motifs are the qualities of spirit that characterized the allies at that moment in history—patriotism, courage, sorrow, anticipation of victory. This Seventh Symphony—the high point of Martynov's book—is shown to be a logical step in Shostakovich's development; and it is this development which the book emphasizes. A young man today, for the composer was born in 1906, Shostakovich came to this symphony after wide experience in musical form and composition. A conservative graduate of the Petrograd Conservatory at the age of nineteen, he was a follower of the romantic school of Rimsky-Korsakov. Then followed a period of experimentation with modern forms when he was absorbed in abstractions. During this time he attempted to bring his music close to the demands of the national life of the Soviet State. To this end he worked in the theatre producing music for dramatic productions and the cinema. Here he was associated with the great masters of the Soviet cinema—Ermler, Kozintsev and Trauberg. From the film Counterplan came his music used for the United Nations song, a song much used by schools and public gatherings in the West.

The author of this book is a music critic as he discusses Shostakovich's opera, Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk, the ballets, and the symphonies. But he shows his dialectical inclination when he discusses the relation of these compositions to Soviet art. For example, the ballet Bright Rivulet, which deals with life on a collective farm, is described as "trivial and false," i.e. bourgeois: "The ballet contains not a hint of real life on the collective farms." So too, for the opera Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk, which had its premiere in 1934, he quotes a *Pravda* article approvingly, entitled "A Muddle in Lieu of Music."

The chapter on Style discusses the various elements which make up the composer's genius. Martynov concludes that Shostakovich has approached more closely than any of his contemporaries to the heights of classic art. His understanding of the great Russian masters, and his affinity for Russian folk melodies give him his distinctly national flavor. Among Western musical influences he seems to be indebted to the classic and pre-classic masters and to the moderns, rather than to the romantic school.

An interesting line of inquiry is Martynov's discussion of the effect of modern western arts other than music, upon Shostakovich's style. The author finds points of comparison to the art of Charles Chaplin — humanism, subtle psychology, mastery of the grotesque; to the latter works of Pablo Picasso such as The Destruction of Guernica; to modern writers "whose vital comprehension of realities, modern principles of art and hatred for fascist obscurantism are qualities shared by the composer of the Seventh Symphony." From this study of one artist the reader may gain insight into the philosophy of Soviet art.

A list of Shostakovich's works from 1919 to 1945 is given. In number more than 70, the list shows amazing variety: classical, jazz, instrumental, orchestral compositions, chamber music, children's pieces, sonatas, cinema music, operas, ballets. This book is valuable for those who have recordings of Shostakovich's music. The analyses of certain compositions are detailed and have the advantage of having been reviewed by Shostakovich himself as well as by other Russian music critics.

Bewildered

MOUNTAIN VILLAGE: A NOVEL *by Chun-chan Yeh. New York, Putnam,* 1947. 248 *pages.* US$2.75. *Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

MOUNTAIN Village is the life of a little village on the upper Yangtse in the 1920's when the Communists were moving into the Yangtse valley. The first half of the story is deceptively quiet and simple. Days pass with the usual round of farming, evenings with the continuing tales of the village story-teller. The excitement of the village is the celebration of the new year, the new calf, the infrequent letter, the personal gossip, the antics of the village shrew.

All at once two strange characters from outside break the rhythm—a police hunted stranger, a man disguised as a woman. From then on the story becomes a satire upon the communist technique for taking over a village. The political organization of the village is a classic of ridicule.

Bewildered, flattered and fearful, Uncle Pan, a flood refugee who had earlier wandered into the village is made the chairman of the village peasants' union. The village story-teller is appointed assistant commissar of publicity. The schoolteacher becomes the party secretary and the Taoist priest is forced into farming. New enmities and new curiosities are awakened and the villagers find themselves figures in a drama which they cannot understand. No more do they understand the flight of the revolutionaries or the coming of the regular troops and their proclamations. The priest shouts "The dynasty is again changed!...At last the day breaks!" And again without understanding, the village "communists" are punished with death.

The author himself left his village in central China after the entrance of the communists in 1928 and came to Shanghai. After graduating from the National Wu-han University he taught in Tokyo. During the Japanese war he was in the Chinese army and in 1944 he went to England on the invitation of the Ministry of Information to lecture on the war situation in the Pacific. He had formerly translated Ibsen, Maeterlinck and Aeschylus into Chinese, but this, his first novel, was written while he was in England.

Mountain Village calls to mind a short novel of the early twenties which has become a classic of modern Chinese fiction: The True Story of Ah Q by Lu Hsün. Mr. Yeh has used the same idea of peasants bewildered by the changing political scene, unaware of their involvement in something far beyond their understanding, and the tragic incomprehending outcome. The novel under review, however, does not have the impact of Lu Hsün's story.

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KUNSHAN	52	30.000.	44.000.	16.000.	22.000.	8.000.	12.000.			
SOOCHOW	87	44.000.	58.000.	22.000.	30.000.	12.000.	16.000.	142.000.	84.000.	142.000.
WUSIH	129	72.000.	88.000.	36.000.	44.000.	18.000.	22.000	142.000.	84.000.	156.000.
CHANGCHOW	168	88.000.	116.000.	44.000.	58.000.	22.000.	30.000.	142.000.	84.000.	
TANYANG	213	116.000.	144.000.	58.000.	72.000.	30.000	36.000.	174.000.	102.000.	
CHINKIANG WEST	243	130.000.	160.000.	66.000.	80.000.	34.000.	40.000.	192.000.	112.000.	
NANKING	312	130.000.	160.000.	66.000.	80.000.	34.000.	40.000.	192.000.	112.000.	

SHANGHAI-HANGCHOW LINE
TIME TABLE

23	21	61	67	25	1	41	27	TRAIN NO.	24	42	2	68	26	22	62	28
I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III Ord.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	I, II H'chow Throu. Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II III Exp.	STATIONS	I, II III Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II N'king Throu. Exp.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III IV Ord.	I, II III Exp.
6.45	8.00	8.15		11.30	16.00	16.15	22.45	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	9.15	12.15	12.35		18.55	20.05	22.30	23.30
7.05	8.16	8.36	9.00	11.53	16.19	16.36	23.06	D SHANGHAI WEST D	8.58	11.55	12.20	17.20	18.37	19.49	22.13	23.12
7.49		9.46	10.29	12.38	17.03	17.46	23.50	A D	7.51	10.44	11.26	15.29	17.48		21.00	22.16
7.54		9.56	10.40	12.48	17.08	17.51	23.55	D SUNGKIANG A	7.47	10.38	11.21	15.22	17.39		20.54	22.11
9.02	10.02	11.40	12.50	13.50	18.16	19.23	1.06	A D	6.35	9.04	10.13	13.10	16.20	17.54	19.25	21.00
9.16	10.08	11.50	13.15	13.58	18.26	19.33	1.16	D KASHING A	6.28	8.55	10.04	12.45	16.11	17.47	19.12	20.50
10.00		12.33	14.52	14.32	19.01	20.16	1.50	D YEHZAH D	5.56	8.14	9.31	11.53	15.39		18.29	20.18
10.31		13.18	15.56	15.04	19.32	21.01	2.21	A D	5.23	7.27	8.58	10.40	15.06		17.42	19.34
10.36		13.26	16.10	15.11	19.37	21.06	2.26	CHANGAN-TSENG A	5.19	7.22	8.54	10.27	15.02		17.37	19.27
11.30	11.55	14.45	18.10	16.20	20.30	22.20	3.35	A HANGCHOW D	4.25	6.10	8.00	8.30	14.00	16.00	16.25	18.25

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"West Lake" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
SUNGKIANG	45	30.000.	44.000.	16.000.	22.000.	8.000.	12.000.	142.000.	84.000.	
KASHING	99	58.000.	72.000.	30.000.	36.000.	16.000.	18.000.	142.000.	84.000.	142.000.
YEHZAH	126	72.000.	88.000.	36.000.	44.000	18.000.	22.000.	142.000.	84.000.	
CHANGANTSENG	151	88.000.	116.000.	44.000.	58.000	22.000.	30.000.	142.000.	84.000.	
HANGCHOW	190	88.000	116.000.	44.000.	58.000.	22.000.	30.000.	142.000.	84.000.	156.000.

NANKING-SHANGHAI RAILWAY SYSTEM ADMINISTRATION

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